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phs of the Department of Ancient Indian
History, Culture & Archaeology
No. 8

Editor
Prof. LALLANJI GOPAL

THE DISINTEGRATION OF IE KUSHĀNA EMPIRE

By
B. N. MUKHERJEE
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MENT OF ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY,
CULTURE & ARCHAEOLOGY
BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY
1976

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B. N. MUKHERJII

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VARANASI-5

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TO

Dr. SISIR KUMAR MITRA

My Teacher

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TO

Dr. SISIR KUMAR MITRA

My Teacher

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"The Yüeh-chih have (*become*) extremely rich and strong. In various countries (*their ruler*) is always referred to as the king of Kūei-shuang, but the Han, basing themselves upon the old appellation, speak about the Great Yüeh-chih", (*Italics ours*).

Fān-Ye, *Hou Han-shu*

"Ardashīr returned from Merv to Pārs and settled in Gor. Then the envoys of the king of the Kushān, of the Kings of Tūrān and Mokrān, came to him with declarations of their submission".

Al Tabarī, *Tārikh al-rusūl Wa'l-mulūk*

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FOREWORD

In recent years problems of Kushāṇa history have received greater attention from scholars. There have been seminars and symposia at national and international levels to discuss a wide range of questions concerning the Kushāṇas.

This increased vigour of academic effort has been due to the direct interest of a number of modern nations which were connected with the Kushāṇa empire. In India also Kushāṇa studies have gained in prestige.

Though the wider geographical involvements of the Kushāṇas have been well known, Indian studies on the Kushāṇas in many cases have not placed the problems in their proper perspective. Often it is forgotten that Kushāṇa territories in India were only one part of the vast Kushāṇa empire which enjoyed a position of central importance in the contemporary world history. Being in close contact with the important political and cultural centres of the ancient world, the Kushāṇa empire could not keep its destinies unaffected by the developments in the other kingdoms. The vast Kushāṇa empire had a number of metropolitan cities. But Mathura and Kanishkapura (Peshawar), with all their importance as centres of Kushāṇa culture, can not claim to have been the main seat of Kushāṇa power, which throughout the long course of its history was in Bactria. Hence the history of the Kushāṇa empire in India can be understood only in direct relation with the events affecting its main centre in Bactria; it will not be advisable to view piecemeal the developments in different parts of the Kushāṇa empire.

It was on account of a lopsided emphasis on the Indian territories of the Kushāṇas that K.P. Jayaswal held the view that the Kushāṇa empire collapsed as a result of the onslaughts

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of the Bhāraśivas and the Vākāṭakas. The view which has enjoyed popular currency till now gives the Yaudheyas, the Mālavas and the Ārjunāyanas the credit for joint efforts to drive the Kushāṇas away, the Yaudheyas dealing "the first great blow at the Kushanas". The limitation of space does not warrant a full discussion of these views. It must, however, be pointed out that the role of the republican tribes has often been exaggerated. They seem to have taken advantage of the fading authority of the Kushāṇas who could not bear the fatal blows struck by the mighty Sassanians.

Dr. B.N. Mukherjee, who has already contributed several scholarly monographs on Kushāṇa history, here attempts, for the first time, a full length study of the history of the disintegration of the Kushāṇa empire. He views the question in a wider perspective.

He collects evidence from all possible sources and analyses them minutely for whatever information they may yield. He traces four stages in the decline of the empire and three in the aftermath of its fall, underlining the political and economic factors to the extent they are perceptible. To summarise, it can be said that the Kushāṇas lost some areas in the early period shortly after the reign of Kanishka I, and by the time of Vasudeva I. It is quite likely that these areas were no longer economically profitable and hence the Kushāṇas were not keen to keep them under their possession. The territories to the south-east and east of Mathura were lost in this period. This was followed by the loss of the lower Indus Valley. Subsequently a few more areas may have gone out of the Kushāṇa empire. The second major phase of disintegration occurred during the reign of Vasudeva II. Some time between A.D. 230 and 242 he was defeated by the Sassanian emperor Ārdāshir I. He possibly ruled for a few more years, but by A.D. 262 Kushanashahr up to Peshawar had been snatched and annexed to the Sassanid empire.

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After this event Vasudeva II may have continued in the Indian part of his empire from Peshawar to Mathura. The reign of Vasudeva saw the establishment of independent local powers in different parts of his empire. The exploits of the Yaudheyas are to be placed in this context.

The present monograph consists of a series of lectures which Dr. Mukherjee delivered in the Department during the session 1974-75. We are glad to bring it out as his first publication after his appointment as the Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History. I feel privileged in introducing this research study to the world of scholars.

Lallanji Gopal

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PREFACE

In 1974 I was invited by the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology of the Banaras Hindu University to deliver a course of lectures. I gratefully accepted the invitation received from Prof. Lallanji Gopal, and delivered a course of lectures on the disintegration of the Kushāṇa empire. The present mongraph contains a modified version of those lectures. I am extremely thankful to Prof. Gopal and to the authorities of the B.H.U. for publishing the lectures. It may be added here that Prof. Gopal has also graciously agreed to write a foreword.

Dr. J.P. Singh of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology of the Banaras Hindu University has been kind enough to correct the type-script of the lectures and to see the monograph through the press. I express my sincere gratitude to him.

In the spelling of proper names I have tried to follow, with a few necessary exceptions, conventional forms. For example, the name of the son of the Kushāṇa King Kujula is written as V'ima Kadphises, and not as V'ima Kadaphisa. No diacritical mark has been used in modern proper names, including geographical. The term India denotes, unless otherwise indicated, the Indian subcontinent comprising the territories of Indian Republic, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

I am obliged to Dr. D.N. Das for preparing the Index, and to the press concerned for printing the monograph as nicely as possible. I tender my apology to my readers for the printing mistakes which have crept in.

December, 1975 B.N. Mukherjee
Calcutta.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

A

The importance of the Kushāṇa empire in the history of the Orient is now well recognised. The limits of the empire are, however, still ill-defined. We can, however, make a list of the areas which could have once been within the empire.

The available data suggest that the empire included the territory now in Afghanistan, with the exception of the areas of Seistan (ancient Sakastan) and perhaps also Herat (ancient Areia). Thus ancient Bactria to the north of the Hindu-Kush and Arachosia (in the Kandahar area) formed parts of the empire. In the north-western direction the empire might have extended, at least for some time, up to a locality to the immediate east of Mu-lu or Merv (in Turkmenistan, USSR). The section of the empire to the north of the Oxus stretched up to the borders of K'sh or Kashgarh, Sh'sh ('st'n) or Tashkent and Sogdiana (also called Swgd) or the Samarkand-Bukhara zone. The Ts'ung-ling or the Pamir area and perhaps also a region up to P'u-li (or Tashkurgan) were within the empire.

The major parts of the north-western region of the Indo-Pak or Indian subcontinent including the territories of ancient Kāśmīra, Gandhāra (in parts of N.W. Frontier province and the Panjab of Pakistan), Sindhu, Sauvīra (in the Sind province of Pakistan), etc., were very much within the empire. The region called Twgrn, which included Jhalawan and Las Bela districts of Baluchistan, might have for some time acknowledged the authority of the Imperial Kushāṇas.

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The major portions of Indian Panjab, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh up to the Bareilly district (ancient North Pañchāla) and Mathura were ruled by the majority of the Kushāṇa emperors. The Kushāṇa empire was also extended, at least for a certain period, to the south-east and north-east of Mathura. But we are not certain of the extent and duration of the Kushāṇa rule in these directions.

The Sanchi area of Madhya Pradesh perhaps became a part of the empire by the end of the year 22 of the Kanishka Era. Here the exact period of the direct rule of the Kushāṇas is not known.

If the members of the family of Mahākshatrapa Chashṭana are considered to have served the Imperial Kushāṇas up to the year 72 or A. D. 149-50, by which date Chashṭana's grandson Rudradāman became an independent ruler, then the territories controlled by them up-till that time might have acknowledged the hegemony of the Imperial Kushāṇas. Such territories were in Cutch, Kathiawad, Eastern and Southern Gujarat, Western Deccan, Eastern and South-Eastern Rajasthan, North-Western M. P., an area on the upper Narmada in M. P., and Western and Eastern Malwa in M. P.[1]

B

It appears that the empire of the Kushāṇas was, in its maximum extent, a very large one, stretching from Central Asia to the remote interior as well as to the western sea boards of the Indian subcontinent. The vast empire had, like most of the other empires, a very small area under its command in its initial stage.[2] It is quite clear from the testimonies of the *Ch'ien Han-shu* and the *Hou Han-shu* and some other sources that the territory of the *yabgu* of Kuei-shuang undoubtedly formed the nucleus of the Kushāṇa empire.[3] This *yabgu* had its head-quarters at Hu-tsao and was itself a part of Ta-hsia[4] or Eastern Bactria.[5]

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According to a section of the *Hou Han-shu*, based apparently on a report prepared in *c.* A. D. 125,[6] the country of the Great Yüeh-chih, the ruler of which was called 'the king of Kueị-shuang', had its capital at Lan-shih.[7] This city was in Ta-hsia[8] or Eastern Bactria to the north of the Hindu-Kush. If Moses of Chorene was correct in indicating Bahl (or Balkh) as the place of the residence of the Kushāṇa king in the age of early Sasanian ascendancy,[9] then the capital of the Kushāṇa empire should be considered to have been shifted to Balkh (ancient Bactra) in Western Bactria during or sometime before that period.

No doubt, there were other important metropolitan cities in the empire. Mathura must have been one of them. Kanishkapura (or modern Peshawar), referred to in an inscription of Kanishka I, was obviously named after him. The close association of his name with this city of Gandhāra might have been one of the reasons which later contributed to the growth of the legend describing him as the king of Gandhāra. In the 7th century A. D. Hsüan-tsang described Ch'ia-ni-se-chia (Kanishka I) as belonging to the country of Ch'ien-to-lo (Gandhāra), even though he knew of this ruler's authority over other territories.[10] But the texts like the *Ch'ien Han-shu* and the *Hou Han-shu*, the relevant testimonies of which were based on sources datable to the age of the Kushāṇas, indicate that the seat of power in the Kushāṇa empire lay to the north of the Hindu-Kush.

It is well-known that from sometime of the reign of Kanishka I the local language of Bactria, the so-called Bactrian speech, was used in the Kushāṇa coin-legends. Though Greek legend appears only on a comparatively small number of coins of Kanishka I, they never bear any Prakrit legend in Kharoshṭhī characters. These changes must have been deliberate and significant in view of the fact that the Indo-Greeks, Scytho-Parthians and early Kushāṇas used both

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these languages in the legends on their coins struck for circulation in the north-western parts of the Indian sub-continent and its borderlands which were also under Kanishka I and his immediate successors. The introduction of the Bactrian in legends on official products like coins, meant for circulation throughout the empire, should mean that to the Imperial Kushāṇas this language and so the area of its use were most important of all languages and areas in the vast territory controlled by them.

It is interesting to note that Jaina and Vaishṇava or Bhāgavata faiths are not represented in the bewildering varieties of the known representations of cult icons on the coins of Kanishka I and Huvishka, even though the above two religious movements were very popular in Kushāṇa Mathura.[11] On the other hand, among the deities of various origin appearing on these coins are all (or at least the majority) of those who were worshipped by or could have been known to the people of Bactria.[12] Here again in the matter of choosing reverse devices for coins, struck from official mints, Bactria was given preference over other regions.[13] Significantly enough, the river Oxus, bordering Bactria, (and not the Indus or the Ganges) was considered important enough to be personified as Oaksho on some coins of Huvishka.

It is not suggested that most or even the majority of the deities represented on Kushāṇa coins were of Bactrian origin and/or were not known in other parts of the empire. It is also to be admitted that coins of the successors of Vāsudeva I carrying Nana, Ardokhsho and Śiva (on pieces a four-pronged symbol on the reverse) may be attributed to different mints outside Bactria.

It should be noted that stray Brāhmī letters on some pieces of Vāsudeva I and on coins of his successors (and the Brāhmī legend on a piece attributed to Kanishka III) may

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betray local influences on coins struck outside Bactria during the later days of the Kushāṇa empire. Nevertheless, the use of Bactrian for the main legend on almost all known coins of the later Kushāṇa emperors must indicated that Bactria was still to them the most important area of their empire.

All these considerations suggest that the seat of power of the Kushāṇa empire was in Bactria till its downfall.

C

Among the Kushāṇa emperors who ruled, from the seat of power in Bactria, over the whole or substantial portions of the territories indicated above were Kujula Kadphises, V'ima Kadphises, Kanishka I, Vāsishka, Huvishka, Kanishka II (only as a co-ruler of Huvishka), Vāsudeva I, Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II. Vāsudeva II was the last of the Kushāṇa emperors.[14]

Dates in the inscriptions mentioning Kanishka I, Vāsishka, Huvishka, Kanishka II, and Vāsudeva I are referred to the era of Kanishka I. We have elsewhere adduced our arguments in favour of the hypothesis suggesting the identification of the reckoning of Kanishka I with the era of A.D. 78.[15]

Some scholars have put forward theories advocating a division of the empire sometime before its downfall. According to H. Lüders, the empire was divided between Huvishka and Kanishka II after the reign of Vāsishka.[16] L. Bachhofer held that "under" Kanishka III the empire had been divided.[17] R. Göbl suggests a division of the empire between Kaneshko (= Kanishka II) (*sic*) and Vāsudeva II after the days of Vāsudeva I.[18] J. M. Rosenfield is of the opinion that Kushānshahr was split into northern and southern parts after Vāsudeva I.[19]

We have examined these hypotheses in detail in different places, and have tried to show that they do not carry

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conviction.[20] In fact none of the data-epigraphic (as put forward by Luders) or numismatic (as adduced by others) can conclusively prove that there was a division of the empire. On the other hand, the *San-kuo chih*, compiled in the 3rd century A.D., does not indicate the existence of two Great Yüeh-chih kingdoms when it refers to the sending of an envoy to the Wei court by the "king of the Great Yüeh-chih, Po-t'iao",[21] identified with Vāsudeva II, the last of the Kushāṇa emperors.[22] Again Al Ṭabarī, who wrote about the submission of different monarchs including the Kushāṇa king to the Sasanian sovereign Ardāshīr, was apparently not aware of the existence of two Kushāṇa emperors at that time.[23]

Thus there is no necessity to believe, at least at the present state of our knowledge, that there was a division of the Kushāṇa empire. However, we do admit that the empire could have suffered territorial losses at different stages of its history.

We propose to determine the extent, date and reason for each of such diminutions of the Kushāṇa empire before its downfall. An attempt will be made to reconstruct the history of the downfall itself. In course of our study we shall have to define the limits of the Kushāṇa territory that was directly annexed to the kingdom of the victors. It will also be our task to see what happened to the residual part of the empire, if there had been any. In fine, the story of the end of the Kushāṇa empire will be re-told in the following pages.

References

1. For discussions on the data suggesting the inclusion of the above noted areas in the Kushāṇa empire, see *RFKE*, pp. 72f., 93, 135f., 155-158; etc.

   For the reasons to hold that the family of Chashṭana acknowledged the supremacy of the Kushāṇas up to A.D.

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149-50, see *ibid.*, p. 157-158; *KD*, pt. I, pp. 108-109; etc. We have shown elsewhere that the group of Mahākshatrapa Nahāpana of Western India did not serve the Imperial Kushāṇas (*KD*, pt, I, pp. 104-108).

2. *KG*, pp. 7-14; *RFKE*, pp. 27-28.
3. *CHS*, ch. 96A, p. 14b; *HHS*, ch. 118, p. 9.
4. *CHS*, ch. 96A, p. 14b.
5. *East and West*, 1969, ns. vol. XIX, pp. 396-397.
6. *KG*, p. 105; *RFKE*, p. 65.
7. *HHS*, ch. 118. p. 9a.
8. *SC*, ch. 123, p. 5b. In this connection see also *TP*, 1907, s. II, vol. VIII, p. 187, f.n. 2.
9. Moses of Chorene, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'* (Venice, 1881), pp. 323-324; bk. II, ch. LXXIV; *RFKE*, pp. 230-231; *KG*, p. 87.
10. *Taisho Tripiṭaka*, no. 2087, I, p. 873.
11. V. A. Smith, *The Jaina Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā*, p. 1b; R. P. Chanda, *Archaeology and the Vaishṇava Tradition*, *MASI*, no. 5, p. 171; *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. II, pp. 385-389.
12. J. M. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, pp. 72-101; M. Th. Allouche-Le Page, *L'Art Monetaire des Royaumes Bactriens*, pp. 92, 114, 118, 121, etc.
13. It is not suggested that the deities represented on coins of Kanishka I, Huvishka, etc., were known only in Bactria. In fact, several of these deities were popular in different areas of the Kushāṇa empire outside Bactria. Again, the appearance of a few deities of the Roman empire on Kushāṇa coins and the impact of Roman coinage on the Kushāṇa coin devices (J.M. Rosenfield, *op. cit.*, p. 72; *JNSI*, 1960, vol. xx, pp. 75f.) may be explained on the basis of the hypothesis of Kushāṇa moneyers' commercial knowledge of the Roman specie, on that of contacts between the Kushāṇa territory and the Roman Orient. So also, the desire to stress the imperial glory and might could have been responsible for the appearance of Pharro (personifying the Iranian concept of glory and legitimacy of kings), Shaoreoro, etc., on Kushāṇa coins (J.M. Rosenfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 96 and 99). Nevertheless, the occurence on Kushāṇa coins of the Indian, Iranian and Hellenistic deities, which are known from other sources as having been popular in different parts of the Kushāṇa empire, should

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suggest that they represented the various faiths practised in the vast Kushāṇa empire. (For a summary of different explanations for the appearance of a great number of deities on Kushāṇa coins, see *Com. Hist. Ind.*. vol. II, pp. 791-792).

It is therefore, noteworthy that Jainism and Bhāgavatism, two of the important faiths preached in the Kushāṇa empire, are not known to have representations among the deities on Kushāṇa coins, even though icons belonging to these cults and to the Kushāṇa age, have been found in certain localities once included in the Kushāṇa empire. The only important area of the empire, where neither of these cults appears to have been popular in the period in question or in a still earlier age was Bactria to the north and west of the Hindu-kush.

Not a single Jaina icon of the Kushāṇa period has so far been discovered in that territory. So also no Kushāṇa inscription, found there, refers to Jaina cult.

No doubt Kṛishṇa and Balarāma, both belonging to the Bhāgavata cult, appear on six copper coins of the Indo-Greek ruler Agathocles unearthed during an excavation at Ai-Khanum near the Oxus in Afghanistan, and so at a place which could have been in ancient Bactria (*JNSI*, 1973, vol. XXXV, pp. 74-75). It is also true that Agathocles ruled long before the Kushāṇas. It should, however, be noted that these coins bear Brāhmī inscription as well as Greek legend. So these could not be minted for circulation in Bactria, where Brāhmī could hardly have been popular in the Indo-Greek period. Like some other coins of Agathocles and Pantaleon (*PMC*, vol. I, pp. 16-17), bearing the same feature, these were probably meant for circulation somewhere in the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent, which might have been under the Indo-Greeks and where the Bhāgavata cult could have some foot-hold during their period (*Com. His. Ind.*, vol. II, pp. 152, 383 and 387). The north-western region of the Indian subcontinent had already been exposed to outside (including Iranian) influences. Hence the heavy folds of the garments of the deities, falling straight down like pipes, the treatment of their head-dresses, etc., on these coins, which betray outside influence on the art-style followed by the moneyers in question (R. Ghirshman, *Persia*, pp. 186, 195 and 198; *JNSI*, 1973, vol.

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xxxiv, pl. VII), do not necessarily attribute these pieces to mints outside the subcontinent. The Indian origin of these coins is also suggested by the fact that they have been found in a room at the excavated site along with 676 Indian punch-marked coins. Again, of these as many as 545 pieces carry the so called Taxila mark on the reverse (*JNSI*, 1973, vol. xxxv, p. 74; J. Allan, *op. cit.*, pp. *lix-lx*). Hence all these coins, belonging to one single 'hoard', were probably brought from somewhere in the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent and deposited at the place where they were later unearthed. In any case, the evidence of the coins of the Indo-Greek ruler Agathocles, found at Ai-Khanum, does not prove the popularity of the Bhāgavata cult in Bactria of the Kushāṇa age.

In fact, we have no evidence of the popularity of the Jaina faith and the Bhāgavata cult in Bactria either in the Kushāṇa period or in the pre-Kushāṇa age.

14. *KG*, p. 89; *RFKE*, p. 194. For our arguments against considering Bazeshko Koshana, mentioned in the legends on some coins, as a Kushāṇa emperor, see *JNSI*, 1972, vol. xxxiv, pl. I, no. 5, and p. 31 : and *RFKE*, pp. 193-194.
15. *Our Heritage*, 1969, vol. xvii, pt. I. pp. 33-38; *RFKE*, pp. 64-70.
16. *IA*, 1913, vol. xlii, p. 135.
17. *JAOS*, 1936, vol. lvi, p. 438.
18. *MKVKB*, pp. 216 and 240; *DGIHB*, vol. iii, pl. I.
19. J.M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushāṇas*, pp. 110-111.
20. *KG*. pp. 70f; *RFKE*, pp. 214-218.
21. Ch'en Shou, *San-Kuo chih*, (Po-na edition), section concerning the Wei empire, ch. 3, p. 6a.
22. *TP*, 1904, s. II, vol. v, p. 819; *RFKE*, p. 184.
23. Al-Ṭabari, *Tārikh al-rusūl Wa'l-mulūk*; Th. Noldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden, aus der arabischen Chronik des Tabari*, p. 15.

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CHAPTER II

THE FIRST STAGES OF DECLINE (I)

A

The Indian provinces of the Kushāṇa empire included parts of North-Western and northern areas of the Indian subcontinent up to Mathura (in U.P.) in the east from about the time of V'ima Kadphises to at least up to year 98 of the Kanishka Era, which fell during the reign of Vāsudeva I.[1] A Mathura inscription, ascribable to the Kushāṇa period on palaeographic grounds, is dated in the year 299 (and during the reign) of one Mahārāja Rājātirāja.[2] If the year 299 is referred to the era of 58 B. C., known to have been used in the Mathura area from a pre-Kushāṇa age, the record can be considered to have been inscribed in *c.* A.D. 241-242. Since *Rājātirāja* as well as *Mahārāja* was used as a Kushāṇa royal title in some Mathura epigraphs, and since Mathura was for a long time in the Kushāṇa empire, the ruler concerned might well have been a Kushāṇa monarch. This means that this locality was under the Kushāṇas till the second quarter of the 3rd century A.D., during which period they submitted to the Sasanids[3] (see Chapter IV).

Kushāṇa epigraphs have been discovered in the locality of Ramnagar (ancient Ahichchhatrā) in the Bareilly district of U.P. One of them is dated in the year 32 (of the Kanishka Era) and the other in the year 74 (of the same reckoning).[4] Excavations conducted at one of the sites near Ramnagar have also furnished interesting information on the duration of Kushāṇa rule in that area. Strata VI and V have yielded coins of Pañchāla (or rather North Pañchāla) and also some cast coins. Stratum IV is characterised by "Kushāṇa coins, its last stage containing imitation Kushāṇa coins as well".

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Coins of Achyu occur in the earliest stage of Stratum III.[5] It appears that the Kushāṇas succeeded the rulers of Pañchāla or North Pañchāla in at least the Ahichchhatrā, area, which was a part of ancient (Northern) Pañchāla.[6] The palaeographic features of the legends on the coins of the Pañchāla kings, whose name generally ended in-*mitra*, indicate that they ruled probably from about 2nd century B.C. to the end of the 1st century B.C.[7] However, the last date of their rule may be placed sometime in the 1st century A. D. if we consider the fact that there might have been no less than twenty-one rulers in the line in question.[8] We should therefore believe, in the present state of our knowledge, that the Kushāṇas probably captured this region sometime in the 1st century A.D.

The stratified evidence of coins suggests that there was no very great interval between the end of the Kushāṇa hegemony and the beginning of the rule of Achyu in the area concerned, and that during the interval imitations of Kushāṇa coins were in circulation there, with or without the connivance of the local successors of the Kushāṇas. It is interesting to note that Achyu has been confidently identified with Achyuta, one of the kings exterminated by Samudragupta[9] sometime in or about the middle of the 4th century A.D.[10] Hence the Kushāṇa rule in the Northern Pañchāla area, which could not have ended very long before the reign of Achyu, might have continued up to sometime in the closing decades of the Kushāṇa empire or even till its downfall. The Kushāṇas were succeeded in Northern Pañchāla either by one of the ancestors of Achyu or by a ruler or a few rulers who flourished some time before the family of Achyu rose to power.

It appears that the Indian provinces of the Imperial Kushāṇas included, for a considerable period and perhaps up to the fall of their empire, parts of North-western and

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northern regions of the subcontinent up to the localities of Mathura and Ahichchhatrā (Ramnagar). There are, however, great controversies regarding the nature, extent and duration of the Kushāṇa rule in territories lying to the east of these localities.

B

An inscription of the year 2 of the reign of Kanishka (I) has been discovered at Kosam in the Allahabad district, while excavations at Kosam have yielded a seal and one (or two) pedestal inscription(s) referring to him.[11] These data suggest the inclusion of the Kosam area in the empire of the Kushāṇas during the days of Kanishka I. The same condition may have continued in the period of Vāsishka, if it has been rightly claimed that a fragmentary stone inscription, found at Garhwa (presumably near Kosam), refers to the reign of that Kushāṇa monarch.[12] The stratified evidence of coins unearthed at Kosam indicates that the Kushāṇas conquered this area from a family of rulers whose names ended in-*mitra*. The same type of evidence also indicates that the Maghas succeeded the Kushāṇas in the Kosam region perhaps after an interlude of the rule of a person called Neva (or Nava), if he was not a scion of the Magha family.[13] The earliest epigraphic evidence of the Magha rule in the Kosam region is attested by the Kosam inscription of Bhadramagha of the year 81.[14] He is also known from the Kosam epigraphs of the years 83, 87 and 86 or 88 and also from an inscription on a jar unearthed at Kosam.[15] Since the stratified evidence of coins suggests that the Maghas can be considered as the immediate or almost immediate successors of the Kushāṇas in the Kosam area, and since Bhadramagha's known dates are surely to be assigned to a regular system of reckoning it may well be identified with the Kanishka Era itself.

Palaeographically Bhadramagha's epigraphs may be considered contemporaneous with or slightly earlier than the

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inscription of Mahārāja Śivamagha found at Kosam[16] (compare the forms of the letters in inscription no. 2 with those of the epigraph no. 3 in pl. facing p. 160 of *EI*, vol. XVIII). This king was apparently identical with Mahārāja Śivamagha of an undated Bandhogarh inscription and also with Mahārāja Gautamīputra Śivamagha, mentioned in a legend on a seal unearthed at the Kushāṇa level at Bhita, and Mahārāja Go(tamīputra ?) Śivamagha of a seal discovered at Kosam.[17]

We are not certain whether Mahārāja Vaiśravaṇa of the Kosam inscription of the year 107[18] and Mahārāja Bhīmavarman of the Kosam records of the years 130 and 139,[19] whose dates may well be referred to the reckoning used by Bhadramagha, belonged to the Magha family. The same observations may be made about Mahārāja Vāsiṭhipūta or Vāsusaputtra (Vāśishṭhīputra) Bhīmasena (known from a Bandhogarh inscription of the year 51, a Ginja inscription of the year 52, and a seal found at the Kushāṇa level at Bhita),[20] Mahārāja Bhīmasena's son Mahārāja Kochhīputa (Kautsīputra) Poṭhasiri (known from Bandhogarh inscriptions of the years 86, 87, 88, etc., and perhaps also from the legend *Prashṭhaśriya* on a number of coins, some of which were found at the Kushāṇa level at Bhita),[21] Mahārāja Poṭhasiri's son (?) Mahārāja Kosikiputa Bhaṭṭadeva (known from three Bandhogarh epigraphs, one of which is dated in the year 90),[22] Mahāsenāpati Bhadrabāla's son king Vaiśravaṇa (known from two inscriptions at Bandhogarh)[23] and Vāsiṭhiputa (Vāśishṭhīputra) Chitasena (known from a Bandhogarh inscription).[24]

No doubt, all these rulers, excepting Bhīmasena, Bhaṭṭadeva and Chitasena, struck coins mainly with "Bull" and "tree in railing" devices.[24a] A female deity (?), bull, a post, a bow with arrow and an arched Chaitya (?) appear on the Bhita seals of both Bhīmasena and Śivamagha. The known

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dates of all these kings may well be referred to one single reckoning. But these data do not conclusively prove that they belonged to one and the same family. Rulers of different families could have used the same era and identical coin and seal devices if these were known in their territories from an earlier period. The coin types in question were borrowed from those of the Kauśāmbī coins of pre-Kushāṇa period.[25] The reckoning in question could have been, as suggested above, identical with that of Kanishka I, which was certainly known in the Kosam area and could have been made popular in the Bandhogarh region, which had been in contact with people from Mathura and Kauśāmbi.[26]

The group of kings consisting of Bhadramagha, Śivamagha, Vaiśravaṇa, Bhīmavarman, Śatamagha, Vijayamagha, Puvasiri, etc., whose inscriptions and or coins have been found at Kosam,[27] ruled there from some time after the Kushāṇa rule in that locality and also from about the year 81 to sometime in or before the reign of Gaṇendra, stratified evidence of whose coin at Kosam places his rule there after all the other rulers.[28] Even though it has been suggested,[29] Gaṇendra cannot be cofidently identified with Gaṇapatināga, whose territory is known to have been annexed by Samudragupta. However, the original location of the Allahabad pillar, bearing an inscription of this Gupta monarch, somewhere at Kauśāmbī,[30] should suggest the inclusion of that area within this kingdom. And since Chandragupta II, the son of Samudragupta, ascended the throne in *c.* A.D. 375-76 or 380-81, Samudragupta must have conquered the Kosam area some time before that year. So the known dates of the rulers at Kausāmbī, who flourished after the Kushāṇa rule there and before *c.* A.D. 375-76 or *c.* A.D. 380-81, should be placed earlier than that year. We shall have also to admit that the list of such rulers of Kauśāmbī could have included not only the kings mentioned here, but some other monarchs

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like Yugamagha, etc., known from coins.[31] These considerations convince us that the year 81, etc., cannot be attributed to the Gupta Era of A.D. 320,[32] and that the year 139 (of Bhīmavarman) cannot be attributed to the era of A.D. 248.[33] However, no such difficulty is faced if the dates are referred to the era of A.D. 78.[34] Thus the reckoning used by the rulers in question might have been identical with the Śaka Era and, as suggested above, also with the Kanishka Era.

It appears that sometime before or in *c.* A.D. (77-78+81 =) 158-59 the Kosam area passed out of the hands of the Kushāṇas. So, we cannot deny the possibility of the inclusion of this area within the empire of Huvishka and also, for some years, within that of Vāsudeva I. But there is no definite proof of the rule of either of them in that region. Their coins, found at Kosam,[35] might have reached there by way of trade and commerce.

If A.M. Shastri is right in observing that a certain *(Ma)hārāja Ma(gha)* is represented in a hoard of coins found near Kosam (noticed in a paper read at the sixty-first session of the Numismatic Society of India at Varanasi in 1973), then he might have been a predecessor of Bhadramagha. Either he, or Nava, or, if the latter was not a Magha ruler, some other member of the Magha family succeeded the Kushāṇas in Kauśāmbī.

Coins of the Kushāṇas, Neva or Nava and the Maghas have been found in layer 3 of the excavated strata at Kosam. This layer, which is equated with sub-period VI of Kosam and is dated to the period of transition from the rule of the Kushāṇas to that of the Maghas in that area, betrays no sign of destruction or violence. This suggests that when the Kushāṇa power became weak in that area, which was far away from the centre of the empire, a local ruler who might or might not have served the Kushāṇas, peacefully usurped the authority over that locality.

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In or about the period the Maghas became well established in the Kosam area in the time of Bhadramagha, who ruled at least from the year 81 to 88 (A. D. 158-159 to 165-66), the group of Bhīmasena consolidated its position in at least parts of Baghelkhand. Neither there is evidence of its subordination to the Kushāṇas, nor there is any datum suggesting the inclusion of Baghelkhand in the Kushāṇa empire. The rulers concerned, no doubt, might have used the Kanishka Era. But this could have become popular in their territory through its contact with not far off areas of the Kushāṇa empire. However, if the provenances of the Ginja inscription and his Bhita seal suggest Bhīmaśena's rule in these localities, he might have extended the limits of his territory beyond Baghelkhand and to areas near and/or within the possible limits of the maximum extension of the Kushāṇa empire to the south of the Yamuna river near Allahabad.

A seal of Bhīmasena has been found "little above" the level ascribable to the "Kushāṇa" period at Bhita.[36] The fourth Stratum of the house of Nāgadeva at Bhita, antiquities of which belong to the "Kushāṇa" age, furnishes evidence suggesting that it was deserted "hurriedly owing to some catastrophe".[37] This catastrophe might have been caused by the advent of the army of Bhīmasena, if he really conquered Bhita. The presence of the people from jungle area of Beghalkhand, parts of which were under the family of Bhīmasena, in Bhita itself may be suggested by the cuts and other neolithic implements found in the houses of Nāgadeva and some other excavated buildings dated to the "Kushāṇa" age.[38]

Bhīmasena ruled from at least the year 51 (A.D. 128-29) to sometime in or before the year 86 (A.D. 163-64), the first known years of the reign of his son Poṭhasiri. Hence he could have conquered Bhita sometime before A.D. 163-64. We do not know the name of Bhīmsena's adversary in the Bhita

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area. It will be of interest to note here that excavations at Bhita have yielded two clay moulds of Kushāṇa coins, including one of the reverse of "a gold (?) coin of Vāsudeva (I?).[39] Since Bhita, as indicated by several of the seals found there, was a sort of a headquarter of an administrative division, a mint could well have been located there. This will suggest that Bhita was in the Kushāṇa empire during or up to sometime of the reign of Vāsudeva I. However, we should bear in mind that Kushāṇa gold coins were mostly, if not always, struck from dies, and that the moulds could have been used by counterfeiters to fabricate Kushāna coins. The popular demand for Kushāṇa coins in that area is suggested by genuine Kushāṇa pieces unearthed at Bhita. These could have reached Bhita by way of trade and commerce.

Thus there is no definite evidence of the inclusion of the Bhita area to the south of the Yamuna in the Kushāṇa empire. Even if it is considered, for the sake of argument, to have been for some time under the Kushāṇas, it is not necessary to infer that Bhīmasena wrested it from them. He might well have conquered the area from a local ruler. This local ruler could have earlier peacefully (?) usurped the authority over that region when the Kushāṇa rule had become virtually non-existant there after the loss of the near-by Kosam area to the north of the river Yamuna.

If the seal of Śivamagha unearthed at Bhita indicates his rule there and if Bhīmasena was not a scion of the Magha family, then Śivamagha might have ousted the group of Bhīmasena from that area. If Śivamagha was a successor of Bhadramagha (year 81-88), this conquest might have happened after the rule of Bhīmasena's son Poṭhasiri (year 86-88) and during or after the reign of the latter's son Bhaṭṭadeva, who was on the throne in the year 90. The extension of the rule of Śivamagha to the Bandhogarh area is suggested by his Sanskrit inscription at Bandhogarh, which,

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from the linguistic point of view, should be dated after the Bandhogarh Prakrit inscriptions referring to Bhīmasena, Poṭhasiri and Bhaṭṭadeva (and also Chitasena). However the association of the Maghas with the area might have begun even earlier. A certain Magha, son of one Chakora, was an *amātya* of Poṭhasiri.[40]

The re-struck pieces of Śivamagha, found in a hoard from the Fatehpur district, have been considered to indicate his reverses at the hands of an enemy.[41] The enemy, who re-struck the coins, could have been the same as king Vaiśravaṇa, who was the son of a Mahāsenāpati (or a great commander of the army) called Bhadrabāla,[42] and so was not a son of a king belonging to the group of Bhīmasena or to the family of the Maghas. Vaiśravaṇa's authority extended from Kosam to Bandhogarh, as indicated by the findspots of his Kosam inscription of the year 107 (*c.* A.D. 184-85) and his Sanskrit inscriptions at Bandhogarh. His successor, in at least the Kosam area, was probably Bhīmavarman, whose Kosam records are dated in the years 130 and 139 (A.D. 207-8 and 216-17). Either Bhīmavarman, if he was a scion of the Magha family, or some later Magha king might have restored the rule of the Maghas in the Kosam region.

The above survey of the political history of north-eastern region of M.P. and south-eastern areas of U.P. including Kosam and the localities to its south and on the other side of the Yamuna allows us to draw certain inferences. It appears that Baghelkhand was never included within the Kushāṇa empire. There is only a very remote possibility of the correctness of the hypothesis about the extension of the Kushāṇa rule to Bhita. We cannot deny the feasibility of the theory about the rule of Huvishka or of Vāsudeva I in the Kosam area, though we have no definite evidence to that effect. There is, however, no doubt that this area had been earlier included within the empire of Kanishka I.

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C

It has already been suggested that the territory of the Kaspeiraioi, as described by Ptolemy, was an administrative division of the Kushāṇa empire.[43] This territory included a locality called Eragassa, identified with Erach in the Jhansi district in South-Western U.P.[44] This evidence suggests the inclusion of parts of that area in the Kushāṇa empire. But we have no idea of the exact period of the Kushāṇa occupation.

A multiple coin-mould, displaying the negatives of some of the reverse devices of the coins of Huvishka, was discovered some time back at Atranji Khera in the Eta district, lying to the east (and south-east) of the Mathura district of U.P.[45] If this coin-mould is considered to have been used in a genuine Kushāṇa mint, situated in the neighbourhood of its find-spot, then the area concerned should have been in the empire of Huvishka. But the fact that coins intended to be cast in this mould "were not of one kind certainly makes one suspect a forgery".[46] Moreover, it should be remembered that the majority of the genuine Kushāṇa coins, and certainly the Kushāṇa gold pieces, were struck from dies.[47]

More important evidence about the hold of the successors of Kanishka I over the land between the Ganga and Yamuna to the east of Mathura is supplied by the Nana-on-lion coin-type of Kanishka III. As Kanishka III's coins bearing "Śiva with bull" device were meant for circulation in the Kushāṇa empire to the west of the (upper) Indus, and as his coins showing Ardokhsho on the reverse were probably meant for the Punjab area,[48] his "Nana on lion" coin-type should be attributed to an eastern district. The eastern district could have included his possessions in the territory of U.P., including Mathura, which might have been under the Kushāṇas up to about the end of their empire.

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The "Nana on Lion" coin-type of Kanishka III probably influenced "the goddess on lion" device on the reverse of the specie of the Gupta monarch Chandragupta I.[49] So the coin-type in question might have been familiar to the people of a region, which was later at least partly included in Chandragupta I's Kingdom.

The suggested locations of the territories of the kings of Āryāvarta, conquered by Chandragupta I's son Samudragupta, should indicate that the latter annexed to his dominions portions of U. P., including the Bareilly, Bulandshahr and the Mathura district areas, Eastern Panjab and the Delhi region (?) and portions of M. P. and West Bengal.[50]

His conquest of the Mathura region is indicated by the identification of Gaṇapatināga, one of the kings defeated by him, with the ruler of the same name, whose coins have been found mainly in that area.[51] Samudragupta probably possessed also the area of Kosam near Allahabad on the confluence of the Ganga and Yamuna (see above). But the territory of none of the kings defeated by him was situated in the land between the Yamuna and the Ganga stretching from the east and south-east of Mathura to the north or north-west of Kosam. So, if, as the circumstantial evidence would suggest, he had this land under him, it was already a part of the Gupta kingdom during the period of his father Chandragupta I. The territory ruled by the latter king could have included even the Kosam area. At least there is no evidence that his son, who possessed that area, actually conquered it himself.

This inference allows us to suggest that Kanishka III's "Nana-on lion" coin-type was familar in *inter alia* an area to the east of Mathura and between the Ganga and the Yamuna, which later became incorporated in Chandragupta I's kingdom. It may be argued that the area concerned was a part of Kanishka III's empire. However, coins of Kanishka III bearing "Nana-on lion" device could have also regularly

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reached that region by way of trade and commerce. For parallel examples, we can refer to the coins of the successors of Vāsudeva I (though not with "Nana on lion" reverse device) found at Delhupur in the Jaunpur district and also at Sanchankot in the Unnao district of U. P.[52]

Thus there is no definite evidence of the rule of the successors of Kanishka I in the land between the Ganga and the Yamuna lying to the East, south-east and north-east of Mathura. We, however, do not altogether deny the possibility of the Kushāṇa rule in the Kosam region up to sometime of the reign of Vāsudeva I and in an area to the east of Mathura up to sometime of the period of Kanishka III.

D

The presence of the Kushāṇas in the land of ancient Kosala to the east of the Pañchāla is indicated by literary and archaeological data. The Tibetan work *Li-yul-gyi lo-rgys* states that "originally king Kanika, the king of Guzan and the Li ruler, king Vijaykīrti, and others led an army into India and captured a city named So-Ked".[52a] The *Hou Han-shu* records the Yüeh-chih conquest of a country called Tung-li with its capital at Sha-ch'i.[53] Kanika is considered to have been the same as Kanishka (I).[54] So-Ked and Sha-ch'i have been convincingly identified with Sāketa, which was located near Ayodhyā in the Fyzabad district of U.P.[55] Ayodhyā was in the land of ancient Kosala. Thus Tung-li, conquered by the Yüeh-chih, was in or substantially the same as Kosala.[56]

An inscription from Saheṭ-Maheṭ, in the border region between the districts of Gonda and Bahraich of U.P., records an act of merit done in the reign of Kanishka by a monk at Sāvasti[57] (Śrāvastī). Śrāvastī, identified with modern Saheṭ-Maheṭ or Seṭ-Maheṭ, was a part of ancient Kosala.[58]

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The early local coins, ascribed to Ayodhyā mainly on the basis of the evidence of their provenances, can be divided into three distinct groups.[59] The rulers known from the second group of coins, had their names ending in *deva* or *datta*. Their rule may be dated, on the basis of the palaeographic features of their coin legends, to a period from sometime of *c.* 2nd century B.C. to sometime in 1st century B.C.[60] or even 1st century A.D.[61] To this group we may also assign Dhanadeva of an Ayodhyā stone inscription.[62]

The rulers known from the third group of coins can be placed, on the basis of the same type of evidence, to *c.* 1st-2nd or rather to *c.* 2nd century A.D.[63] The names of most of these rulers ended in *mitra*.

It is not impossible that the Kushāṇas captured Kosala or parts thereof from one of the rulers known from the second group of coins or from one of their immediate successors. It is also possible that the so-called Mitra rulers succeeded the Kushāṇas in Kosala or in a part of it.

Excavations in the ruins of a room in a monastery at Sahet-Mahet unearthed copper coins of Kanishka, Huvishka, Vāsudeva I bearing Śiva with bull on the reverse,[64] and Vāsudeva II (or rather imitations in copper of a gold coin-type of this ruler) and Āryamitra (?).[65] A hoard of copper coins, found at Tilaurakot (Nepalese Tarai), is reported to have contained 2 Indo-Greek coins, 2 coins of Agnimitra, 1804 coins of Vima Kadphises, Kanishka (I) and Huvishka, and 379 pieces struck by Āyumitra and Satyamitra.[65a] Coins of Kanishka (I), and Huvishka and also a few of those belonging to the third group of Ayodhyā specie have been discovered in two hoards found in the Azamgarh district (to the south-east of the Fyzabad district).[66] A hoard from Buxar in the Sahabad district (of Bihar), situated not far to the south-east of the Azamgarh district, has yielded copper

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coins of V'ima Kadphises, Kanishka (I), Huvishka and Satyamitra (?).[67]

An attempt has been made recently to interpret the testimony of the Buxar hoard, which has yielded a great number of Kushāṇa coins and only a few "Mitra" pieces, to suggest that the Kushāṇa coins "ousted" the "Mitra" coins from the "Ayodhyā" territory. It has been claimed that this happened towards the end of the 2nd or in the beginning of the 3rd century A.D., up to which date there was "a continuous chain of indigenous rulers" at Ayodhyā from the time of the Śuṅgas.[68] It should, however, be pointed out that a section of Chapter 118 of the *Hou Han-shu*, based on a report prepared by Pan Yung in *c.* A.D. 125,[69] refers to the conquest of an area including Sha-ch'i (i. e. Sāketa) by the Yüeh-chih.[70] We have noted above that Kanika or KanishkaI was responsible for extending the Kushāṇa rule to the Sāketa region. Thus the "chain of indigenous rulers" in the area around Sāketa, which surely included Ayodhyā, was snapped by the Kushāṇas and the independence of the local rulers ended, at least temporarily sometime in or before A.D. 125 and during the reign of Kanishka I. And since as many as 392 Kushāṇa coins and only 10 "Mitra" pieces have been found in the Buxar hoard, it may well be considered as having been buried in the early years, and not after, the rule of the Mitras in the territory in question. The same inference may be drawn from a study of the composition of the hoard found at Laghusa (in Gopalganj sub-division) in North Bihar. It yielded "several hundreds of Kushāṇa copper coins, mixed with bull and cock coins (i.e. Mitra coins) of Ayodhyā".[71]

The evidence of the hoards, mentioned above, thus supports or at least does not go against the hypothesis that the so-called Mitras succeeded the Kushāṇas in Kosala. Āryamitra (or Āyumitra) or Satyamitra might have been the earliest of this group of rulers of Ayodhyā.

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It is not certain whether the so-called Mitras served the Kushāṇas before they assumed independence.[72] We are equally uncertain about the date of the end of the Kushāṇa rule in Kosala. Though there is no inherent difficulty in postulating the continuation of Kushāṇa rule in that area at least up to sometime of the reign of Vāsudeva I, we have no definite evidence of its inclusion in the Kushāṇa empire of the successors of Kanishka I. The absence of any sign of violence in the strata, dated to the Kushāṇa age, at various excavated sites in the land of ancient Kosala may, however, suggest that the transition from the Kushāṇa rule to the independent rule of the so-called Mitras was probably peaceful.

There is an evidence of the activities of the Kushāṇas even to the immediate east of the Bahraich and Gonda district areas of ancient Kosala. Thirty-one sealings have recently been discovered at a depth of 1.6 m. below the surface of a monastery adjoining a stūpa at Piprahwa in the Basti district of U.P. The legend on these sealings written in the Brāhmī script of the Kushāṇa period, has been read as *Om Devaputra-Vihara Kapilavastu Bhikshu Sanghasya.*[73] The legend may better be read *as Om (11) Devaputra-Vihār (e) Kapilavastu-bhikshu-saṅghasya,* and the inscription after the word *oṁ* may be translated as "(the seal) of the community of the monks of Kapilavastu (residing) in the Devaputra Vihāra" (i.e. the monastery named after a certain Devaputra).

The term *Devaputra* was used as a title of the Kushāṇa emperors in several inscriptions referring to them.[74] Even the existence of a Devaputra Vihāra in the Jamalpur mound area in the locality of Mathura during the Kushāṇa age is suggested by a few epigraphs found there.[75] One of these inscriptions records a gift made in the Mahārāja Devaputra Vihāra in the year 51 (and during the reign) of Mahārāja

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Devaputra Huveshkā.[76] Another inscription of the year 77 refers to the same monastery as the Vihāra of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Hūvīshka.[77] It seems certain that this religious establishment in the Mathura area of the Kushāṇa empire was founded by and/or named after Huvishka during his reign. We have other instances of the sanctuaries in the Kushāṇa empire having been named after the reigning monarchs.[78]

These observations tempt us to suggest that the Devaputra Vihāra at Piprahwa, mentioned in a seal inscription palaeographically datable to the Kushāṇa period, was founded by and/or named after a Kushāṇa emperor. This would mean the extension of the Kushāṇa rule to this area at least for a brief period.

One of the theories about the identification of Kapilavastu advocates that it is represented by "the Piprāva group of ruins".[79] Attempts have also been made to locate Kapilavastu in the neighbourhood of Piprahwa.[80] These suggestions receive some support from the sealings unearthed at Piprahwa, the legend on which indicates the monks of Kapilavastu as residing in the Devaputra Vihāra, situated in that locality. Whether any of these hypotheses is acceptable or not, it seems certain that the site of Piprahwa could not have been very much away from Kapilavastu, since two Chinese pilgrims placed the latter not much distant from the Lumbini garden or modern Rummindei, situated in Nepal and at a place not very far from Piprahwa in the Basti district.

As it appears from an information collected by K'ang T'ai in *c.* A.D. 245-50, the kingdom named Kia-wei or Kapilavastu was in existence even in about that time.[81] So Piprahwa could have been a part of that kingdom even in the 1st or 2nd century A.D. On the other hand, since Piprahwa was not very far from Śrāvastī (or Sahet-Mahet) of ancient Kosala, it could have been included in Kosala.

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The same kingdom might have been referred to as that of Che-wei (Śrāvastī) by K'ang T'ai.[82]

Thus, if the Kushāṇas conquered the Piprahwa area, they might have either made an intrusion into the kingdom of Kapilavastu or might have occupied it as a part of their conquest of the Kosala area. They could have annexed it to the Kushāṇa empire after the conquest of the Sāketa area by Kanishka I. We cannot be sure as to how and when they lost the area in question. One hypothesis may be that their successors in the Kosala territory also succeeded them here.

E

The area of Vārāṇasī, among the regions to the south of Kosala, might have been annexed to the Kushāṇa empire by sometime of the year 3 of the reign of Kanishka I.[83] No doubt, the Sarnath image dedicated by friar Bala in the year 3 of Kanishka (I), was, like the Kosam image of the year 2 of Kanishka (I) and the Sahet-Mahet icon of the time of the same king, made of Karri red sand stone and could have been a product of the Mathura school of art. All these images could have been brought from Mathura to their respective places of discovery.[84] But the inscription on the umbrella post of the Sarnath image clearly states that the (the image of) Bodhisattva and the umbrella with a post, gifted by Bala, were erected at Bārāṇasi (Vārāṇasī) itself. It is also known from this record that Kshatrapa Vanashpara and Kharapallāna and others were associated with this act of merit. On the other hand, one of the inscriptions on the image itself states that this gift of Bala was actually "installed by Mahākshatrapa Kharapallāna together with Kshaptrapa Vanashpara." The satrapal rulers obviously acted on behalf of the donor. Such an act by these rulers, who were otherwise not related in any way to Bala, would have been meaningless, if they had not been specially associated with the place of dedication. The

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satrapal titles of these persons, mentioned in an inscription on an image dedicated at Banaras in the reign of Kanishka (I), should then suggest that they were governors of the Banaras area, and that they ruled on behalf of the Kushāṇas. So, if the inscription on the umbrella post speaks of their association with the gift made by Bala, they were connected with it in their official capacities—as governors of Vārāṇasī. The theory of extension of the Kushāṇa rule to the Banaras area perhaps receives some support from the facts that the Kushāṇa rule in the Kosam area and also in the territory of ancient Kosala (which appears to have included the locality of Sahet Mahet) are known also from sources other than the Kosam and Sahet Mahet images, which, as it has been argued, like the Sarnath icon, could have been brought to the places where they were discovered later.

We cannot identify the power which was ousted by the Kushāṇas from the Banaras area. Excavations and Explorations at Rajghat in the neighbourhood of Banaras have yielded seals of several persons like Jeṭhadatta, Hathisena, Jeshṭhamitra, Nāgārjuna, Jayaka, Jaya, Mānyāditya (?), king Abhaya (?), king Dhanadeva, Navva, Kṛishṇasena, Harisheṇa, king Bhīmasena, etc., who may have been rulers or men of position and who may be dated (on the basis of palaeographic features of the legends on their seals) to 1st-2nd century A.D.[85] The last four persons mentioned here used *inter alia* the "bow and arrow" device on their seals. The names of three of them ended in-*sena*. And since a royal title (*rājan*) was given to at least one of them, the last three men could have been members of one and the same royal family. It was also not impossible for one of the families of the persons mentioned here to become the target of the Kushāṇa aggression. We must, however, admit that the locality of Rajghat was not only an administrative centre, but also could have been, as it was in the neighbourhood of Banaras, an important place of pilgrimage.[86] So it could

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have been visited by important personages having no political connection with it. Such an inference degrades the value of the evidence of the provenances of the seals for our study.

We are not certain about the precise date and process leading to the termination of the Kushāṇa rule in the Banaras area. It is, however, interesting to note that seals of a few of the so-called Mitra rulers of Ayodhyā (like Vishṇumitra, the son of Bhavasena, Saṅghamitra, the son of Vishṇumitra, Vijayamitra, and Śivamitra, the son of Vijayamitra) and of the Magha rulers (like king Navva (= Nava ?) (?), Kautsīputra Śivamagha and Mahasenāpati Rudramagha) have been found at Rajghat in the neighbourhood of Banaras.[87] We are not sure whether we can postulate the extension of the rule of the Mitras or of the Maghas to this locality, which was well frequented, as a religious centre, by various types of people from different areas.[88] On the other hand, there are some indications that the immediate successor of the Kushāṇas in the region in question could have been a certain king called Aśvaghosha, and not one of the Mitra or Magha rulers. Two records, found at Sarnath, in the neighbourhood of modern Banaras, refer to the reign of this monarch.[89] One of them is dated in the year 40[90], probably of the Kanishka Era.[91] He may well be identified with (King ?) Aśvaghosha, whose seal has been found at Rajghat.[92]

The Kushāṇa authority could thus be acknowledged in the area in question up to sometime of the year 40 of the Kanishka Era. But we have no definite proof of the rule of any of the successors of Kanishka I in that region.

F

Chinese sources indicate the activities of the Kushāṇas even to the east of the territories of ancient Kosala and Kāśī (Vārāṇasī). The *Ta chuang-yen lun ching*, the Chinese trans-

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lation of Kumaralāta's *Kalpanāmāṇḍitikā* done by Kumārajīva, states that "among the Chū-sha (Kushāṇa) race there was a king named Chen-t'an Chia-ni-cha *(Kanishka I)* who *(once)* made a punitive campaign against Tung T'ien-chu *(Eastern India)*. When *(that territory)* had been pacified, his majestic power made *(the world)* tremble and his success was complete, and he returned to his native country" *(Italics ours)*. On his return journey he inadvertantly worshipped a Nirgrantha sūtpa.[93] The incident concerning this *stūpa* is included in the *Fu fa-tsang yin yüan chuan* by Chi-chia-yeh and T'an-yao among the events which happened during the journey of Kanishka (I) to his "own country" after attacking Pāṭaliputra. The relevant text records that "the king of Pāṭaliputra is attacked by the king of the Yüeh-chih called Chan-t'an Chi-ni-cha *(Kanishka I)*, and as a ransom he offers the most valuable things of his kingdom, the sage Aśvaghosha, the Buddha's alms bowl and a luck-bringing hen. Chi-ni-cha *(Kanishka)* accepts the gifts and withdraws his army to his own country".[94] The Yüeh-chih invasion of Magadha, of which Pāṭaliputra must have been the capital, was narrated also in the *Ma-ming pu-sa chuan*. It stated that "Ma-ming *(Aśvaghosha)* lived in Central India. There arrived the king of the Little Yüeh-chih *(should be read as the Great Yüeh-chih)*,[95] *(who resided)* in Northern India, *(and who)* invaded Magadha and demanded the surrender of the statue of the Buddha and Aśvaghosha" *(Italics ours)*.[96]

The alleged occurrence of the incident concerning a Nirgrantha stūpa suggests, even if it did not actually take place, that the first two texts intended to refer to one and the same expedition undertaken by Kanishka (I). It is also obvious from the statements of the second and third treatises that they dealt with one particular venture of Kanishka (I).

No doubt, the first treatise placed the territory invaded by Kanishka I in Eastern India, while the third text located

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it in Central India. But this discrepancy may be obviated by the hypothesis that the authors concerned followed two different early Indian traditions regarding the geographical divisions of the subcontinent. According to one, favoured by the Buddhists, Majjhimadeśa or Madhyadeśa (Central Region) extended in the east up to Kajaṅgala (identified with (?) Kankjol in the Bhagalpur district of North Bihar). Magadha, according to this concept, could have been in Central India. Another early Indian tradition placed Madhyadeśa to west of Prayāga (modern Allahabad area of U.P.). This suggests that Eastern India, to the east of Madhyadeśa, included Magadha.[97]

Thus all the three treatises mentioned above indicate Kanishka I's invasion of Magadha. The historicity of this episode is further indicated by the probability of Kanishka's having been more or less a contemporary of Kumāralāta,[98] the author of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*, of which the first of the three treatises was a Chinese translation.

It is obvious from the statements quoted above that Kanishka's invasion of Magadha was in the nature of a punitive expedition. The king of Magadha probably did something which displeased the Kushāṇa monarch. Kanishka I withdrew his army from the Magadha area, after the ruler concerned submitted and paid tribute to him. The royal family of Magadha was apparently not ousted and, Pāṭaliputra or rather the Magadha region was not formally annexed to the Kushāṇa empire. It probably became a feudatory or a tributary state.

It is difficult to identify the ruler who paid tribute to Kanishka I. However, there is no inherent difficulty in accepting him as a scion of the dynasty of the Magadhan king Bahasatimita, whom Khāravela of Kaliṅga humiliated (literally "caused his feet to be worshipped" by the Magadhan ruler) perhaps sometime in the closing decades of the

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1st Century B.C.[99] The same family may be considered to have been ruling in Magadha even in the last quarter of the 2nd century A. D., if the date of an inscription of the year 108 (and of the reign) of king Arya-Viśāghamitra (Ārya-Viśākhamitra), found at Kalivan in the Patna district and so in the land once included in Magadha, is attributed to the era of A.D. 78, and if this ruler is assigned to the dynasty of Bahasatimita.[100] At least such an inference is in accord with our above hypotheses that Kanishka I probably did not exterminate the contemporary royal family of Magadha and that he allowed the Magadhan king, who paid tribute to him, to continue to rule as a feudatory or a tributary ruler.

In our attempt to determine the political status of the Mitra family of Magadha in the 2nd century A.D. we may have to consider some other data. The most important of them is the information collected by K'ang-T'ai apparently during his mission to Fu-nan in *c.* A.D. 245-50.[101] According to this evidence, quoted in work of Ma Tuan-lin, a king of Fu-nan sent an envoy to T'ien-chu sometime during the period of the Wu Dynasty (A.D. 222-280). He reached "the mouth of the river of India". He went up the river, covering the distance of 7000 li, and arrived at his destination, where he apparently met the king of T'ien-chu. Later this king sent two persons to Fu-nan with four horses of the Yüeh-chih. K'ang Tai gathered from one of them that "the title of the king *(apparently of his country)* is Meu-lun..... On the right and left *(of this territory)*, there are sixteen kingdoms of large size, those of Kia-wei *(Kapilavastu)*, She-wei *(Śrāvastī)*, Che-po (or le-po) *(Champā)*, etc." *(Italics ours)*.[102]

The kingdom of T'ien-chu or India, described above, was apparently situated on the river of T'ien-chu, identifiable with the river Ganges,[103] though at a great distance from its mouth. The kingdom was bordered on different sides by *inter alia* the kingdom of Che-po or Champā (which was

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located in the Bhagalpur region of North Bihar), the kingdom of She-wei or Śrāvastī (which included parts of the Gonda, Bahraich and Fyzabad districts of U.P.) and the kingdom of Kia-wei or Kapilavastu (which could have ordinarily within it the locality of Piprahwa in the Basti district of U.P. and also parts of southern most portion of the central section of Nepal). Hence the territory in question probably incorporated the Tirhut division of Bihar (ancient Tīrabhukti), situated on the bank of the Ganges, and perhaps, though with lesser probability, parts of Magadha to the south of that river. This kingdom was in existence about the time K'ang T'ai collected his information in Fu-nan in *c.* A.D. 245-50.

The above topographical position of the kingdom in question indicates that it included only a part of T'ien-chu, even though Ma Tuan-lin, who got the above information from an evidence of K'ang T'ai used the name T'ien-chu to denote more or less the whole of the Indian subcontinent.[104] Hence *Meu-lun* was the title of the king of this territory, and not of a sovereign ruling over the whole or the major portion of the subcontinent.

The title *Meu-lun* is considered a Chinese transliteration of the term *Muruṇḍa*.[105] As the Muruṇḍa king, who sent four horses to Fu-nan, secured these from the territory of the Yüeh-chih, his kingdom was apparently outside the Yüeh-chih or Kushāṇa dominions.

The dynasty, the kings of which used the title *Muruṇḍa*, and which ruled over *inter alia* the Tirhut area in about the first half of the 3rd century A.D., could, however, be related to the family of Chashṭana, which might have still earlier served the Kushāṇas.[105a] Two seals of the Great Queen Prabhudāmā, unearthed at Basarh (ancient Vaiśālī) in the Muzaffarpur district of the Tirhut Division, refer to her as the daughter of Mahākshatrapa Rudrasiṁha and sister of

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Mahākshatrapa Rudrasena.[106] This parentage of Prabhudāmā identifies her as a daughter of Rudrasimiha I, who ruled as a Mahākshatrapa at least from the year 103 to 110 and from the year 112 to 119, and also as a sister of Rudrasena I, who ruled as a Mahākshatrapa at least from the year 122 to the year 144. Since these years are attributed to the era of A.D. 78, Rudrasena I, who was a scion of the house of Chashṭana, should have ruled as a Mahākshatrapa from *c.* A.D. 199-200 to 221-22. Prabhudāmā's seals must be dated to sometime of the period of Rudrasena's rule as a Mahākshatrapa. If Basarh in Tirhut, where the seals of Prabhudāmā have been found, was in the kingdom of which Prabhudāmā was the great queen for some time in the first quarter of the 3rd century A.D., her husband could well have been one of the members of the royal family which used the title *Muruṇḍa* and ruled over *inter alia* Tirhut in about the first half of the 3rd century A.D.

The existence of a Muruṇḍa kingdom on both sides of the Ganges is also suggested by an evidence of Oppian, who can be dated to the second half of the 2nd century and the first half of the 3rd century A.D. He referred to the Ganges (i.e. Gaṅgā) flowing through the land of the Maryandean people.[107]

Ptolemy, whose information on India should be dated before the middle of the 2nd century A.D.,[108] placed the Maroundai to the east of and near the Ganges and between a territory on the Sarabos and the land of the Gangaridai.[109] The land of the Gangaridai surely included the Gangetic delta. The territory on the Sarabos or Śarayū (i. e. modern Gogra) should have substantially included the area of ancient Kosala (including Śrāvastī ?). This geographical location of the Maroundai places their territory in North Bihar lying to the north as of the Ganges. Ptolemy placed them to the east of the Ganges (i. e. Gaṅgā) because he divided the Indian

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subcontinent and parts of South-East Asia into two sections— India Intra Gangem lying to the west of the Ganges and India Extra Gangem lying to the east of the Ganges. It is clear from the context that the territory of the Maroundai was to the north of the river.

Thus by about A.D. 150 there was a Muruṇḍa land in North Bihar. The Śaka term *Muruṇḍa* literally means "lord". So, it could have been assumed as a title by any Indo-Scythian or other outlandish ruling family in India or even by an Indian dynasty experiencing foreign influence. The title of the royal family might well have gradually begun to denote their territory and also the people inhabiting it.[110]

The *Pādalipta-Pravandha* of the *Prabhākaracharita* narrates how king Muruṇḍa of Pāṭaliputra was cured of his headache by Pādaliptasūri.[111] If Pādalipta has been correctly claimed to have been a contemporary of Nāgārjuna,[112] datable to a period shortly after Kanishka I or rather to second half of the 2nd century A. D.,[113] then the authority of the royal Muruṇḍa family might have been extended to Pāṭaliputra by sometime of the second half of the 2nd century A.D. The rule of a Muruṇḍa king in Pātaliputra is also mentioned in the *Āvaśyaka-Bṛihadvṛitti*. He is said to have sent an envoy to the king of Purishapura (Purushapura).[114] The king of Purushapura (Peshawar) could have been a Kushāṇa monarch or one of the successors of the Kushāṇas.[115]

It appears that the royal dynasty, the members of which, used the title *Muruṇḍa*, carved out for it by *c.* A. D. 150 a territory (including Tīrabhukti) now in North Bihar. Later on, perhaps by sometime in the second half of the 2nd century A. D., their authority was extended to Magadha. This could have happened either after the year 108 or A. D. 185-86, when Ārya-Viśākhamitra was the ruler of at least a part of Magadha, or even before that year. Hence the Muruṇḍa

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dynasty might have allowed Viśākhamitra to rule in a part of Magadha, probably as a subordinate ruler. Or it might have exterminated the Mitras from Magadha after *c.* A. D. 185-86.

In any case, there is no evidence of direct contact between the Muruṇḍa family in question and the Imperial Kushāṇas. The Mitras, who might have been allowed by the Kushāṇas to rule in Magadha, probably continued to rule even after the Kushāṇa influence became extinct there. They were later subdued or ousted by the Muruṇḍa family mentioned above.

The exact date of the end of Kushāṇa influence in Bihar cannot be determined. No doubt, a large number of Kushāṇa coins, including those of Huvishka and Vāsudeva I, have been found in Bihar.[116] A gold coin of Huvishka and two impressions of one of his obverse devices on thin circular objects in gold, discovered in a pot in front of the inner *Vajrāsana* throne at Bodh-Gaya,[117] indicate their popularity in the region concerned. But these discoveries do not by themselves prove the extension of the Kushāṇa rule to an area of Bihar. Coins of a commercially flourishing empire like that of the Kushāṇas could have found their way into territories situated not far from it by way of trade and commerce and could well have been imitated there.

Thus, though it was not impossible for Magadha to continue to be a feudatory or tributary state of the Kushāṇa empire at least up to the time of the advent of the Muruṇḍa family in the second half of the 2nd century A. D., no known source can be interpreted to indicate such a status for this territory after the period of Kanishka I.

G

The theories of Kushāṇa occupation of parts of the territories now included in West Bengal and Bangladesh are

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mainly based on (a) the evidence of the discoveries of coins of the Kushāṇas and their imitations in those areas, (b) the alleged influence of the style of the Kushāṇa school of art on certain sculptures found there, and (c) a statement in the *Periplous Tes Erythras Thalasses* (cited below as *Periplus*) about a type of gold coin called *Kaltis* current in the "Ganges" country (see. 63). It has been suggested that the gold coins in question, mentioned by the author of the *Periplues* in the ninth decade of the 1st century A.D., could have been only those issued by the Kushāṇas.[118]

It should, however, be admitted, that coins issued by the powerful and economically important Kushāṇa empire would have been easily acceptable by the people of the contiguous or nearby territories to facilitate their own commercial transactions with outside areas dominated by the Kushāṇas. The imported coins would have also fulfilled the demand for coins in local transactions had there been no regular local currency. Hence the Kushāṇa coins could have found their way to the regions in question by way of trade and commerce and could have remained there in circulation, and even could have been imitated there to meet popular demand.

The statement of the *Periplus* referring to *Kaltis* may not be necessarily dated to the ninth decade of the 1st century A.D.[119] Moreover, as we have shown elsewhere, the information furnished in at least one section of the *Periplus* should be dated before the advent of the Kushāṇas in the interior regions of the Indian subcontinent.[120] It is also not imperative to consider that the term *Kaltis*, the meaning of which is obscure, denoted Kushāṇa gold coins. It might have been the name of some otherwise unknown local specie. Even if, the Kushāṇa gold coins were known as *Kaltis* in the "Ganges" country, which certainly included at least parts of the deltaic regions of West Bengal and Bangladesh, their pre-

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sence in that territory need not be taken, in the light of our above observations, as indicating its inclusion in the Kushāṇa empire. They could have reached the land in question by way of trade and commerce. As a similar example, we may point out that *suvarṇa*, mentioned in one of the Nasik inscriptions of Nahapāna,[121] probably denoted the Roman gold specie imported into the Deccan, even though that region was never a part of the Roman empire. These gold coins, as it appears from the same epigraph, were in circulation along with the coins called Kārshāpaṇas,[122] which were probably the local coins struck by Nahapāna.

The sculptures from the areas in question, which are considered to betray the influence of Kushāṇa art, need not also prove the extension of Kushāṇa rule to the localities of their find-spots. They may only indicate the percolation of influence of the style of art of one region into that of the other, between which there could have been commercial and cultural contacts. The above considerations debar us from supporting the hypotheses about the presence of the Kushāṇas in the land now included in West Bengal and Bangladesh.

H

The testimonies of provenances of some Kushāṇa coins and also of a great number of the so-called Puri-Kushāṇa pieces have been taken to indicate the extension of Kushāṇa rule also to the territory now included in Orissa.[123] It has been suggested that as a copper coin was not likely to travel far beyond the place of its origin, the copper Puri-Kushāṇa coins found in Orissa were issued by local rulers of the Kushāṇa empire.

A gold piece, unearthed in an excavation at Sisupalgarh in Orissa, bears a copy of a Kushāṇa coin-device (king sacrificing at an altar) on one side and an imitation of the bust on a class of Roman imperial coins. The obverse legend

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was read by A. S. Altekar as *Maharajadharajasa Dharmadamadharasa.*[124] Dharmadamadhara has been taken as a Muruṇḍa ruler and also as a member of one of "the local Kushāṇa ruling families",[125] one of the viceroys of the Kushāṇas in the eastern regions of the Kushāṇa dominions,[126] etc.

A scholar has claimed, in support of the theory about the Kushāṇa rule in Orissa, that a few images from Bhuvaneswar betray some stylistic affinity to a Kushāṇa school of sculpture, a few of the figures of the doorkeepers in the Ranigumpha cave (near Bhuvaneswar) "remind us the Kushāṇa soldiers armed with spears", and that the *Gārgīsaṁhitā* "preserves the reminiscence of the Śaka, i. e. the Kushāṇa, expeditions in Orissa."[127]

As we have noted above, the discoveries of Kushāṇa coins or their imitations in any territory do not by themselves prove the extension of Kushāṇa rule to that area. The so-called Puri-Kushāṇa coins, which are crude imitations ultimately of Kushāṇa copper coins, have been found not only in Orissa, but also in Bihar, etc., and even in Andhra, which was certainly never in the Kushāṇa empire.[128] Moreover, many of these coins might have been struck after the end of the Kushāṇa empire.[129] Thus neither the Kushāṇa coins nor the Puri-Kushāṇa pieces, found in Orissa, prove the inclusion of a part of that territory in the Kushāṇa empire.

Similarly, there is no cogent reason to connect Dharmadamadhara (even if the obverse legend is taken to have been correctly read by Altekar) with either the Muruṇḍas or the Kushāṇas simply because he imitated a Kushāṇa coin-device. He could well have been a local ruler of the area in question where Kushāṇa coins could have been imitated. It should also be noted that a loop attached to the gold piece in

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question suggests that it was used as an amulet or an ornament.[130]

The evidence of the stylistic features of certain sculptures noted above may only allude to cultural contact between the area in question and a part of the Kushāṇa empire. We also like to point out the figures of armed soldiers with spears can be noticed in sculptures from Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda, which were outside the dominions of the Kushāṇas. Regarding the alleged reference to the Sakas in the *Gārgī-saṁhitā*, it should be pointed out that the Sakas were not the same as the Kushāṇas.[131]

Thus we cannot include, in the present stage of our knowledge, any part of Orissa in the Kushāṇa empire.

I

The above study of the data relating to the extension of the Kushāṇa rule to the east, south-east and north-east of Mathurā and Ahichchhatrā betrays the hollowness of certain well-known theories. It appears that P. L. Gupta is wrong in assuming that there is no indication "of any political expansion of the Kushāṇas eastward beyond Kānyakubja" (i. e. Kanauj in Western U. P.).[132] On the other hand, there is no solid reason to believe that the Kushāṇa empire included "Orissa and the eastern seaboard as far as the Rishikulya and Langulia rivers".[133] There is also no definite evidence for the extension of the Kushāṇa hegemony to parts of West Bengal and/or Bangladesh.

Magadha, no doubt, acknowledged the supremacy of the Kushāṇas during the days of Kanishka I, even if it was not directly annexed to his empire. But there is no proper foundation for the theories suggesting the Kushāṇa rule in the Bihar area from the time of V'ima Kadphises to that of the end of Huvishka[134] or from the period of Kanishka I to that of Vāsudeva I,[135] or from the beginning of the reign of

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Kanishka I to somtime even after the death of Huvishka.[136] No definite evidence can be furnished to substantiate the suggestion that the Guptas threw off loose allegiance of Magadha to the Later Kushāṇas of Maṭhura and the Punjab.[137] We, however, do not suggest that it was not possible for Magadha to acknowledge the supremacy of the Kushāṇas after Kanishka I. We only want to put on record that no datum at our disposal proves that the Kushāṇas exerted political influence in any part of Bihar after the reign of Kanishka I.

The whole or a part of the territory of Kosala, and the regions of Kauśāmbī and Vārāṇasī were in the empire of Kanishka I. But, again we do not know whether these areas were ruled by the Kushāṇas even after the end of his reign.

The absence of an energetic ruler like Kanishka I and the difficulties of effecting direct control over far-flung eatern provinces might have encouraged a process of their gradual cessation from the empire. Even if such may have been the case, there is no evidence of any general or concerted revolt of the eastern territories against the Kushāṇas. The excavations conducted at different sites to the east, south-east and north-east of the Mathura area, which may have been in the Kushāṇa empire, do not indicate any violent end of the Kushāṇa rule in those localities. The transition from the rule of the Kushāṇas to that of their successors in those territories seem to have been peaceful. It appears that administrative difficulties and perhaps also strategic inconvenience, and comparative unimportance of these provinces in relation to international trade,[138] in which the empire was vitally interested, probably prompted the Kushāṇas to withdraw voluntarily from there.[139]

The economic reasons behind the withdrawal might have been accentuated with the gradual emergence, by about or sometime before the middle of the 2nd century A.D.,

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of South India as the most important area in the Indian subcontinent for Roman empire's trade with the east.[140] By *c.* A.D. 150 the western seaboard of South India became at least comparatively free from the menace of piracy.[141] Sailors from the Roman empire who had already learnt how to reach the South Indian port of Muziris, "the nearest mart of India,"[142] within the shortest possible time with the help of trade wind, were, therefore, able to visit safely the emporia of South India.[143] And since they could find important local and imported articles of commerce in the ports of South India, they would naturally visit these places more frequently than the ports in the northern parts of the Indian peninsula or in Western India.[144] Moreover, merchants of the Roman empire bound for the eastern seaboard of India, South-East Asia and Further East including China, either began to circumnavigate Damirica (Dravida country) or to traverse it from west to east through one of the shortest possible routes.[145] The regions of Eastern U.P. and South Bihar no longer had any important part to play in India' trade with the west. Earlier these might have served as hinterlands through which articles of commerce were carried to the ports of Western India and the Deccan.[146] The Kushāṇa power, which probably never reached the eastern seaboard, probably lost interest in the far away eastern provinces, which were no longer economically important to it. This theory about the economic decay of the areas concerned is perhaps corroborated by some archaeological data indicating the abondonment or less flourishing conditions of several inhabited sites in those territories at the end of the Kushāṇa "level" of occupation.[147]

If the Imperial Kushāṇas voluntarily withdrew from the eastern provinces, local men, including some of their erstwhile representatives, probably filled up the vacuum. The withdrawal might have been effected in one single period. Or rather it might have been done gradually starting from

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the days of Vāsudeva I or Huvishka or even Vāsishka. It should, however, be noted that the additional reasons for the withdrawal as suggested in the last paragraph could not have come into operation in the days of Vāsishka if his known years of rule (22 or at least 24 and 28)[148] are referred to the era of A. D. 78. These additional reasons were in force in the last years of Huvishka and in the periods of Vāsudeva I and his successors.[149]

Whatever may have been the factors leading to the end of the Kushāṇa rule in some of the territories to the east of the localities Mathurā and Ahichchhatrā, the Kushāṇas in all probability lost these areas long before they submitted to the Sasanids in the second quarter of the 3rd century A.D.[150] (see Chapter IV). Thus the loss of the eastern provinces marked one of the first stages of the decline of the Kushāṇa empire.

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115. Viśuaphāni or Viśvaphūrji or Viśvaphaṭka, mentioned in the Purāṇas as a powerful king of Magadha (before the rise of the Guptas), has been sought, though not on solid grounds, to be identified as a Muruṇḍa ruler (*IA*, 1918, p. 298; S. Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 145).

116. D.C. Sircar, *Some Problems of Kushāṇa and Rājput History*, pp. 58-59.

117. *A.* Cunningham, *Mahābodhi or the Great Buddhist Temple under the Bodhi Tree at Bodh Gaya* (reprint) pp. 11, and 20, and pl. XXII, nos. 11 and 17.

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130. *JNSI*, 1974, vol XXXVI, p. 30. For an example of the use of a genuine Kushāṇa gold coin as an ornament in Orissa, see *Summaries of Papers, Sixty-Second Session of the Numismatic Society of India*, Calcutta, 1974, pp. 9-10.

131. *KG*, p. 27. The *Gārgī saṁhitā* of the *Yuga Purāṇa*, no doubt, refers to an unsuccessful Śaka invasion of Kaliṅga, which was then, ruled by Śāta (*JBORS*, 1930, pp. 22 and 26). We do not know whether this statement should be taken in its face value. Moreover, the Śakas mentioned in this text need not be identified with the Kushāṇas.

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133. R. D. Banerji, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 115. See also *IHQ*, 1951, vol. XXVII, p. 301; *JNSI*, 1958, vol. XX, p. 3; 1973, vol. XXXV, p. 139; etc.
134. *JNSI*, 1950, vol. XII, p. 122; see also A. S. Altekar and V. Mishra, *Report on Kumarahar Excavations*, 1951-1955, p. 10.
135. K. P. Jayaswal, *History of India, 150-350 A. D.*, p. 42.
136. *Journal of Bihar Research Society*, 1961, vol. XLVII, p. 397.
137. R. D. Banerji, *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 5.
138. B. N. Mukherjee, *The Economic Factors in Kushāṇa History* (cited below as *EFKH*), pp. 52f.
139. The voluntary withdrawl of Roman forces from Britain may be cited as similar, though not exactly a parallel, example (G.T. Warner, C.H.K. Marteen and D.E. Muir, *The New Groundwork of British History*, (1951), pp. 12 and 67-68; A Robinson, *Ancient History* (2nd edition), p. 661).
140. *RFKE*, pp. 205-208, n. 66.
141. *Ibid.*, S.K. Aiyangar, *The Beginning of South Indian History*, pp. 231 232.
142. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, VI, 26, 104.
143. *EFKH*, pp. 56-58.
144. *Ibid*, pp. 16-17; *RFKE*, p. 206.
145. E.H. Warmigton, *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*, pp. 119f. M. Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, pp. 170f.
146. For an instance see the *Periplous tes Erythras*, see 42.
147. R.S. Sharma "Decay of Gangetic Towns in Gupta and Post-Gupta Times" *Journal of Indian History*, Golden Jubilee Volume pp. 142f.
148. *KG*, pp. 68-69 and 74. A Kharoshṭhī inscription, recently discovered at Kamra in Pakistan, seems to be dated in the year 20 (and during the reign) of Vāsishka. (see *Asiatic Society*, Monthly Bulletin, May, 1976).
149. *Ibid.*, pp. 64, 74-75, and 79f.
150. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

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CHAPTER III

FIRST STAGES OF DECLINE (II)

A

Kanishka I, as we have suggested elsewhere, probably conquered Ākara,[1] or Eastern Malwa in M.P. The possibility of the Kushāṇa hegemony in regions towards further west and south and also in peninsular India depends on the veracity of the hypothesis about the subordination of the family of Chashṭana to the Kushāṇas.[2]

It is now recognised that the territory of Larike, as described by Ptolemy, was a political, and not a mere geographical division, ruled by Tiastenes or Chashṭana. It included *inter alia* littoral Gujarat from about the mouth of the Mahi downwards to a certain limit incorporating the Broach area and a part of Western Deccan up to Nasik, and also certain areas of Western M.P. and perhaps South-Eastern Rajasthan.[3] The Andhau inscription of the year 11 indicates the rule of Chashṭana, and the Andhau inscriptions of the year 52 allude to the conjoint rule of Chashṭana and his grandson Rudradāman (I) in the area in question.[4]

We have no definite evidence of the rule of Chashṭana in the lower Indus country, which was within the Kushāṇa empire during the days of V'ima Kadphises, Kanishka I and perhaps also Huvishka and Vāsudeva I.[5] This area thus acknowledged the authority of the Kushāṇas from a date prior to year 1 of the reckoning of Kanishka (identifiable with the era of A.D. 78) to at least the first year of Vāsudeva I's rule as the Kushāṇa sovereign, which began in the year 64 or 67 or even in or immediately after the year 60 of the Kanishka Era, up to which date at least Huvishka was on

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the Kushāṇa[6] throne. In other words, the Kushāṇas might have held the lower Indus country from a date prior to A.D. 78 to A.D. 137/38 or 141/42 or 144/45.

It is interesting to note that the Junagadh inscription of about the year 72 or A.D. 149-50 refers to Chashṭana's grandson Rudradāman (I) as controlling, as an independent ruler (though bearing the title of Mahākshatrapa), regions of Sindhu and Sauvīra, located in the same lower Indus country, and also several territories which can be placed in Cutch, Kathiawad, a district on the Sabarmati in Eastern Gujarat, Western Deccan, a locality on the upper Narmada, in M.P., Eastern and Western Malwa in M.P. and parts of Eastern and Western South-western Rajasthan.[7] If Sindhu and Sauvīra were conquered by Rudradāman I from the Kushāṇas in or before A.D. 149-50, it would have been certainly recorded in the Junagadh inscription, which boasted of his success against one Sātakarṇi (of the Sātavāhana family) and also against a much minor power like the Yaudheyas.[8] However, such a conflict between the Kushāṇas and the house of Chashṭana could have been avoided if the latter gradually usurped the political authority in Sindhu and Sauvīra and also in some other territories (as enumerated above), when evil days befell the Kushāṇa empire.

There are reasons to believe that certain developments in international trade took place by the early years of the reign of Vāsudeva I which threatened the prosperity of the empire. We have already noted that by about the middle of the 2nd century A.D. the parts of the southern region of the Indian peninsula became more important than those of Western India and of the northern parts of the western division of the peninsula for the purpose of conducting Indo-Roman trade (see above Chapter II).[9] It is significant that Ptolemy, whose information on India cannot be dated after *c.* A.D. 150, did not designate any place in his Indo-Scythia,

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which included the lower Indus country, as an emporeon, even though he collected his data from, among others, contemporary sailors from the Roman empire who had navigated to India.[10]

The sudden decline, from the time of Vāsudeva I, in the volume of noticeable impact of the Roman specie on the Kushāṇa coin devices[11] may allude to the gradual loss of direct contact between the dominions of Rome and the Kushāṇas. Sharp decrease in the mean quantity of pure gold and also the remarkable disproportion between the waning of the average weight and of the gold content in the Kushāṇa coinage of the days of Vāsudeva I[12] may indicate that evil days befell the empire by sometime of his reign.

The chief reason for this calamity seems to have been the decline of trade between the Indus region and the Roman Orient. We do not know whether the embassies sent by the Bactrians, i. e. the Kushāṇas,[13] to the Roman emperors Hadrian (A.D. 117-138),[14] and Antoninus (A.D. 138-161),[15] were in the nature of attempts to revive, though apparently without success, the Roman trade with the Indus zone.[16]

As the lower Indus Country was no longer of any special significance to the Imperial Kushāṇas, they might have left the administration of this province, far away from the centre of the empire, to the care of the family of Chashṭana, which were then ruling in the contiguous areas and were probably acknowledging at least the nominal suzerainty of the Kushāṇas. As the economic condition of the empire worsened with the decline of the Kushāṇo-Roman commerce, the family of Chashṭana might have usurped the authority in the lower Indus country. Such a hypothesis explains the establishment of the independent rule of Rudradāman I in the lower Indus region by *c.* A.D. 149-50, without apparently defeating the Kushāṇas. A vital alteration in the economic structure of the Kushāṇa empire forced the pace of change in its political arena.

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B

The Kushāṇas might have suffered loss of territory even to the west of the lower Indus region. The Naqsh-i-Rustam record of *c.* A. D. 262 places Twgrn (also called Tourene, Twgrstn and Twrstn) within the empire of the Sasanian monarch Shāpūr I.[17] Twgrn included the Jhalawan and Las Bela districts of Baluchistan (in present Pakistan).[18] It has been suggested that this country was named after the Tochari or Tokharoi people.[19] The Tokharoi of the classical and the Tukhāras of the Indian sources were identical with or closely related to the Yüeh-chih.[20] The territory in question should have, therefore, become known after the Tochari-Yüeh-chih in or before *c.* A. D. 262, the date of composition of the Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription.

A country can be named after a people only when they have been for some time numerically preponderant or politically dominant there. However, if the Yüeh-chih dominance in Twgrn implies its inclusion in the Kushāṇa empire, such an implication was lost before the final dissolution of the latter. For Al Ṭabarī refers to a king of Turān (= Twgrn) and also to a Kushāṇa monarch as offering submission to the Sasanian king Ardāshīr (I).[21] It appears that even if Twgrn in the Baluchistan area had ever been under the Kushāṇas, it became indpendent of them before they submitted to the Sasanid power (see also chapter IV).

C

There are also some indications of territorial loss suffered by the imperial Kushāṇas in the northern parts of their empire before its downfall.

Two statements of the *Wei-lüeh* may have some bearing on the problem of determining the extent of the loss. This treatise composed by Yü Huan in the period of the Wei

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(A. D. 220-265), is supposed to narrate the events of the reign of the emperor Ming (A. D. 227-239). The work is now lost and is known from quotations from it appearing in P'ei Sung-chih's commentary on the *San-kuo chih*, published in A. D. 429.[22]

The *Wei-lüeh* indicates that the "southern route" "enters into (*the country of*) the Ta Yüeh-chih after crossing the Ts'ung-ling and the Hanging Passage".[23] The same text further states that "the kingdom of Chi-pin *(including at least parts of Kaśmīra)*, Ta-hsia *(embracing at least Eastern Bactria)*, Kao-fu *(the Kabul area)*, and T'ien-chu *(including, in the context of this passage, parts of Northern India)* (are) all dependent on the Great Yüeh-chih" (*Italics ours*).[24]

It appears from the above data that parts of Central Asia (including Eastern Afghanistan) and large areas of the Indian subcontinent (including at least a portion of Kāśmīra) might have been under the Great Yüeh-chih at least up to A. D. 227, and that the Yüeh-chih ruled over a vast territory at least up to sometime of that year.[25]

The Ts'ung-ling region was in the dominions of Kanishka I and Huvishka.[26] At least its northern section bordering on the locality of Kashgarh should have been in the Kushāṇa empire immediately before its downfall,[26a] since the Kushāṇa country as annexed to the Sasanid empire stretched up to the frontiers of K'sh or the Kashgarh area[27] (see also chapter IV). So, if in A.D. 227 or later the empire of the Ta Yüeh-chih or the Kushāṇas could be reached by crossing the Hanging Passage by someone travelling apparently from the direction of China, the Imperial Kushāṇas should be considered to have lost by that date the south-eastern section of Ts'ung-ling, where was the Hanging Passage.[28]

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Hsüan-tsang stated in the 7th century A.D. in his account of Kia-shi-mi—lo (Kāśmīra) that "after Kanishka's death the Kritiya race once again assumed the government, banished the priests, and overthrew the religion".[29] We have suggested elsewhere that if there is a grain of truth in Hsüan-tsang's statement, Kanishka in question should be identified with Kanishka III.[30] Chi-pin, which was in the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent and which normally incorporated Kāśmīra, was, however, included in the dominions of the Ta Yüeh-chih or the Kushāṇas by the *Wei-Lüeh*, dealing with a period from A. D. 227 to 239.

Several alternative hypotheses may by postulated to explain the apparent contradiction between the two pieces of information. Either Kanishka III ruled up to at least sometime of A.D. 227, or the Kushāṇas did not loose the whole of ancient Kāśmīra immediately after his rule, or they, under Vāsudeva II, conquered again at least parts of Kāśmira by sometime of A.D. 227.[31] We must, however, bear in mind that the author of the *Wei-lüeh*, who wanted to narrate events of the period ranging from A.D. 227 to 239, might have drawn his information on a remote territory like that of the Yüeh-chih from an earlier source. It is also possible that there is no historicity in Hsüan-tsang's statement about the end of the rule of the family of one Kanishka in Kāśmīra after his death.

The evidence of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* suggests that after the rule of the Turushka race (meaning the family of Kanishka) in Kāśmīra "the fearless Abhimanyu.....became the king".[32] It is, however, not clear whether Abhimanyu rose to power in Kāśmīra before or after the submission of the Imperial Kushāṇas to the Sasanids (see chapter IV). Moreover, there is also no corroborative evidence of the rule of Abhimanyu.

The early local coins of Kāśmīra betray strong influence of the coinage of the group of the ruler called Kidāra

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Kushāṇa.[33] The gold coins of the Kidarites, in their turn, closely follow, though with not much artistic skill, the specie of the Imperial Kushāṇas and of some of their successors showing the standing king holding a trident and sacrificing at an altar on one side and an enthroned female deity (Ardokhsho) holding a cornucopia on the other.[34] Hence one may postulate a period of Kidarite rule in Kāśmīra.

This inference gets some support from a statement in the *Pei-shih*, reproduced in the *Wei-shu*. According to it, the Great Yueh-chih king Chi-to-lo "crossed the great mountains and, going southwards, invaded Northern India (T'ien-chu). The five kingdoms to the north of Ch'ien-to-lo became all subject to him."[35] Chi-to-lo has been identified with Kidāra.[36] He was called a great Yüeh-chih or a Kushāṇa king probably because he ruled over a part of the territory which had been under the Great Yüeh-chih and had become known as Kushānshahr.[37] One of the five kingdoms to the north of Ch'ien-to-lo or Gandhāra, subjugated by Chi-to-lo, could well have been Kāśmīra.

It is, however, difficult to place the rule of Kidāra in Kāsmīra immediately before or after the submission of the Imperial Kushāṇas to the Sasanids in the second quarter of the 3rd century A. D. (see chapter IV). The available data indicate that the group of Kidāra flourished in the fourth century A. D.[38]

These considerations do not allow us to be sure as to exactly when and how the Kushāṇa rule ended in the Kāśmīra area.

D

In the western direction the Kushāṇa empire extended, at least for some time, up to the immediate east of Mu-lu or Merv (Turkmenistan, USSR). This is clear from the state-

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ments in Chapter 118 of the *Hou Han-shu* that the Yüeh-chih territory was bordered on the west by An-hsi and that the city of Mu-lu was on the oriental frontier of An-hsi.[39] If these statements were based on the report prepared by Pan Yung in *c.* A. D. 125,[40] then the Kushāṇa empire could have extended up to the immediate east of the city of Mu-lu, i. e. Merv, in or before *c.* A. D. 125. This means that a part of the Merv area lying to the east of the city of Mu-lu might have been under the Kushāṇas. The Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription of Shāpūr I of *c.* A.D. 262, however, places the whole of the territory named after Mrgw (Merv) outside Kushānshahr.[41] Kushānshahr of this record denoted the territory occupied by the Imperial Kushāṇas immediately before they submitted to the Sasanids (see Chapter IV). So if the Kushāṇas had held a part of the Merv area, they lost it sometime before their submission to the Sasanids. The territory in question might have been snatched away either by the An-hsi or Arsacids or by the Sasanids before the latter received the formal submission of the Kushāṇas.

The data analysed above suggest that the Imperial Kushāṇas might have suffered diminution of territory in the south-western, western and northern regions of their empire before its downfall. However, the exact extent of the losses in all these areas is not clear.

References

1. *KD*, pp. 63f.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 108.
3. *Ptolemy*, VII, 1, 62; B. Indraji, *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. I, pt. I, p. 7; *RFKE*, pp. 155-56.
4. *RFKE*, p. 156.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 43-45, 66-67, and 157.
6. *KG*, pp. 68 and 79.
7. *EI*, vol. VIII, p. 44; *CCADWK*, pp. XXXI-XXXII and LX.
8. *EI*, vol. VIII, p. 44.
9. See also *RFKE*, pp. 170-73.

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10. *Ibid.*, pp. 170-71; *EFKH*, pp. 47-48.
11. For traces of Roman influences in the coin-devices of Kujula Kadphises, V'ima Kadphises, Kanishka I and Huvishka, see *JNSI*, 1960, vol. XXII, pp. 80f. We may add here that Serapis, a syncretistic Graeco-Egyptian deity of Alexandria in the Roman empire, appeared on some coins of Huvishka (J. M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, pp. 98-99), but not on coins of Vāsudeva I and his successors.
12. *JNSI*, 1958, vol. XX, p. 170.
13. *KG*, p. 22.
14. *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Hadrian, XXI, I, 4.
15. Aurelius Victor, *Epitome*, XV, 4.
16. The commercial character of the embassies from India to Rome is now well recognised (P. R. Coleman-Norton (editor), *Studies in Roman Social and Economic History in Honour of Allan Chester Johnson*, pp. 140-41).
17. *Syria*, 1958, p. 336.
18. B. N. Mukherjee, *The Pāṇḍyas*, pp. 47-48.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *KG*, pp. 23f.
21. *Tārīkh al-rusūl Wa'l-mulūk*, edition of M. J. de Goeje, p. 819.
22. *TP*, 1905, s. II, vol. VI, p. 519.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 529.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 538-39.
25. See also *ibid.*, p. 529, f.n. 6; p. 539, f.n. 1.
26. *RFKE*, pp. 131, 142 and 152-53.
26a. *Ibid.*, pp. 142-43.
27. *Syria*, 1958, p. 336.
28. *RFKE*, p. 141.
29. S. Beal, *Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. I, p. 156.
30. *RFKE*, p. 160.
31. For the relevance of Ptolemy's evidence about the land of the Kaspiraioi to the topic in question, see *ibid.*, pp. 199-210, n. 24.
32. Kalhaṇa, *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I, 174; B. Saxena, *Political History of Kashmir* (B.C. 300—A.D. 1200), p. 26.
33. S. C. Ray, *Early History, and Culture of Kashmir* (2nd edition), pp. 37-38, 39, 231 and 233-34.
34. *NC*, 1893, pl. XV, nos. 10f.

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35. *Pei-shih*, ch. 97, p. 11b, reproduced in the *Wei-shu*, ch. 102, p.8b (Ssu-pu pei-yao edition).
36. *Numismatic Supplement*, 1937, no. XLVII, p. 25.
37. *KG*, p. 92, n. 1.
38. *Numismatic Supplement*, 1937, no. XLVII, pp. 29-32.
39. *HHS*, ch. 118; *TP*, 1907, s. II, vol. VIII, pp. 177 and 187.
40. *HHS*, ch. 118; *TP*, 1907, s. II, vol. VIII, p. 168; *RFKE*, p. 65.
41. *Syria*, 1958, p. 336.

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CHAPTER IV

SUBMISSION TO THE SASANIDS

A

Vāsudeva II seems to have been the last known ruler of the house of Kanishka I or at least last of the known Kushāṇa emperors.[1] He has been identified with the Great Yüeh-chih monarch Po-t'iao,[2] who sent an envoy to the Wei court in A.D. 230. According to the *San-kuo chih*, Po-t'iao was made (=given the honorary title of) "king of the Great Yüeh-chih (who shows) affection towards the Wei".[3]

It appears that Vāsudeva II (Po-t'iao) was ruling at a time when Ardāshīr I was gradually asserting the supremacy of his Sasanian family over Persia and the neighbouring regions, after ousting Ardawan or the Arsacid emperor Artabanus V in A.D. 226 or perhaps in A.D. 224.[4] Ardāshīr (I), however, faced a redoubtable opponent in the Armenian ruler Chosroes I, who, with the help of the Roman empire and some other forces, initially scored some success against him.[5] According to the *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'* of Moses of Chorene, Chosroes then sent envoys to the relatives of "the Parthians and Pahlavs" and "to all the troops of the country of the Kushans".[6] "Then came to him some of his messengers who had gone to the most honourable nation, residing in the centre of the countries, at Bahl itself; they brought him the news that 'his kinsman Vehsacan, with his clan Karen Pahlav, had not submitted to Artas'ir (Ardāshīr); he responds to your appeal and is making way to you."[7]

The facts that the Kushāṇas were among the powers approached by Chosroes for help and that Balh or Balkh was a part of the Kushāṇa territory[8] should allow us to

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interpret the evidence of Moses to suggest that Chosroes I made an alliance with the Kushāṇas against Ardāshīr I. This was only a natural alliance, as the growing power of the Sasanids must have spelt danger to the Kushāṇa empire as well as Armenia.

Ardashīr I was, however, successful in exterminating one of the allies of Chosroes, viz., the house of Karen Pahlav. Only a child of this family escaped the massacre and found refuge with the Kushāṇas. This must have angered Ardāshīr, whose attempts to get hold of the child proved futile.[9]

In the light of the above Armenian evidence regarding the inimical relation of Ardāshīr I with Armenia and the Kushāṇas, the *San-kuo chih's* statement about an envoy sent by the Great Yüeh-chih (Kushāṇas) to the Wei court in A.D. 230, assumes significance. The reigning Kushāṇa monarch might have solicited the Chinese help in solving the international crisis. Such a hypothesis receives support from the *Patmut'iwn (History of Dāron)* by Zenob, which states that king of the Cens (Djiens) (i. e., Chinese)[10] intervened in the quarrel between Persia and Chosroes, the king of Armenia, "but could not tame his resentment or to bring (*or make*) peace"[11] *(Italics ours)*.

The struggle between Chosroes I and Ardāshīr I continued for a considerable period until the latter was able to get the former killed treacherously by a person called Anag.[12]

It is not clear as to what extent the Kushāṇas were committed to the struggle between the Sasanids and Armenia. Nevertheless, it may be assumed that for the Kushāṇas the quarrel resulted in making Ardāshīr their avowed enemy.

Al Ṭabarī refers to Ardāshīr (I)'s conquest of *inter alia* Armenia and his expeditions to some places and then states that "he marched back from the Sawād to Iṣṭakhr, from there

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first to Sagistān, then to Gurgān, then to Abarshahr, Merv, Balkh and Khwārizm, to the farthest boundaries of the provinces of Khorāsān, whereupon he returned to Merv.... He returned from Merv to Pārs and settled in Gor. Then envoys of the king of the Kushāṇa, of the king of Tūrān and Mokrān came to him with declarations of their submission."[13]

As Balkh was in the Kushāṇa territory, Ardāshīr I might have made a plundering raid into the Kushāṇa empire sometime after conquering Armenia.[14] This expedition probably shakened the Kushāṇa empire, the lord of which hastened to offer submission. Thus ended the existence of the independent Kushāṇa empire.

As it appears from the sources quoted above, the Kushāṇa monarch submitted to the Sasanian sovereign Ardāshīr sometime after A.D. 224 or 226, in which year Ardāshīr ousted Artabanus V. The Kushāṇa king Vāsudeva II might have begun to acknowledge the supremacy of the Sasanids even after he had sent his embassy to China in A. D. 230. On the other hand, this incident must have taken place (in or) before the early part of A.D. 242, the date of Shāpūr I's assumption of full royal office and accession to the Sasanid throne.[15]

B

The evidence of Al Ṭabarī, however, does not prove that any part of the Kushāṇa empire was annexed to the territory directly ruled by the Sasanids during the period of Ardāshīr I. Such a rule in at least a part of the Kushāṇa dominions lying contiguous to the Sasanid kingdom is suggested by a series of bronze coins struck by Shāpūr I as a Kushānashāh, evidently when he was ruling as his father's representative in at least an area of the Kushāṇa country.[16]

We must still admit that in some parts of the erstwhile Kushāṇa empire situated far from the heart of the Sasanid

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dominions, the Kushāṇa royal family and high Kushāṇa officials might have continued to rule while acknowledging nominal suzerainty of the Sasanids.[17] It is reasonable to assume that they were not averse to doing mischief to the Sasanid empire. At least there are indications that Shāpūr I had to face trouble in the east.[18]

It appears from an evidence of Al Ṭabarī that in the eleventh year of Shāpūr (I)'s reign (i.e., A.D. 252/53) certain events in Khorāsān compelled him to raise the seige of Nisibis, in order to go there in person.[19] A Manichaean text from Chinese Turkestan perhaps alludes in a garbled form to uncertain conditions in the area near a "border post of Kushāṇa" (= Kushāṇa country) when Mani, a contemporary of Shāpūr I, sent his disciple Ammo to Abarshahr.[20] *The Scriptores Historiae Augustae* refers to Sapor (i.e., Shāpūr I) as sending letters to different vassals and princes announcing his success against the Roman emperor Valerian, and further states that "the Bactrians, the Hiberians, the Albanians and the Tauroscythians refused to receive Sapor's letters and wrote to Roman commanders, promising aid for the liberation of Valerian from his captivity."[21] The Bactrians of this passage may well mean the Kushāṇas or chiefs of the erstwhile Kushāṇa empire.[22]

A gold coin (no. 8716) in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras, displays the king at altar on the obverse, and Oesho with bull on the reverse. The *nandipada* symbol occurs on the obverse and a four-pronged symbol on the reverse. The obverse legend, which starts at 7 o'clock, can be read as *(Shā) aonano Shao Ba(z)odeo Kosho (no)*.

The coin, which is well executed, seems to be a product of a genuine Kushāṇa mint during the period of a Kushāṇa monarch called Bazodeo or Vāsudeva. The starting point of the legend and the appearance of both the *nandipada*

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symbol and the four-pronged symbol on this piece relate it to the coins of Vāsudeva II with identical obverse and reverse devices,[23] which served as the prototypes for the imitations of his coinage and also for the Kushāṇo-Sasanian gold coins.[24] So the coin in question, issued probably by Vāsudeva II, was minted in or for an area where later Kushāṇo-Sasanian gold coins came into circulation. It is interesting to note that the king on this coin does not wear one of the head-dresses usually worn by the Kushāṇa monarchs.[25] He is adorned with a headgear comparable with the crown peculiar to the Sasanian emperor Shāpūr I.[26]

This coin thus poses a problem. A possible solution to this riddle can, however, be found with the help of the known facts about the Kushāṇo-Sasanian relationship.

As noted above, the Imperial Kushāṇas submitted to the Sasanian monarch Ardāshīr I sometime before *c.* A.D. 242, when his son and successor Shāpūr I ascended the throne. It has already been suggested that Vāsudeva II was the Kushāṇa ruler who submitted to Ardāshīr I. He might have continued to swear allegiance to the Sasanids during the reign of Shāpūr I. But the coin itself cannot be taken to suggest his vassalage. For a vassal could hardly be allowed to use his master's crown. It is, therefore, better to assume that the coin indicates an attempt on the part of the Kushāṇa king Vāsudeva II to defy the authority of the Sasanid emperor in a region where the Kushāṇo-Sassanian gold specie later came into circulation. The area in question should have been in Kushānshahr up to Peshawar, which, according to the Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription, was annexed to the empire of Shāpūr I.

These data give us the impression that even during the reign of Shāpūr I certain scions of the royal Kushāṇa family and/or some chiefs of the erstwhile Kushāṇa empire, ethni-

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cally related or unrelated to the Kushāṇas, tried to create trouble in or near the Sasanian empire. However, when the draft of Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription of Shāpūr I was drawn up in *c.* A.D. 262,[27] the whole of the Kushāṇa country as defined in that record was apparently under his firm control.[28] This epigraph, seems to include within the Kushāṇa country (Kwshnhshṭr or Kouseneon ethons) the whole area lying between Mrgw (Merv), Hryw (Herat), Skstn (Seistan), Twgrn, Mkwrn and P'rtn (all three to be placed in Baluchistan), Hndstn or India (including the lower Indus country), Pshkbwr or Paskibouron (Peshawar), and the frontiers of K'ash (Kashgarh), Swgd (Sogdiana), and Sh'sh ('st'n) (Tashkent).[29]

Thus by *c.* A.D. 262 the greater part of the Kushāṇa territory was annexed to the Sasanian empire.[30] The imitations of the Vāsudeva II coinage with the *nandipada* symbol might have been made by unofficial sources between the date of the establishment of Sasanian rule over an area of the Kushāṇa empire, during the reign of Ardāshīr, and that of the introduction of Kushāṇo-Sasanian gold coins, modelled on the Vāsudeva II coinage. The series of Kushāṇo-Sasanian gold specie was begun by Hormizd I Kushāṇshāh some time after his father Shāpūr I had established his firm control over Kushānshahr up to Peshawar.[31] The initial date of this series may be placed some time in or after A. D. 262 and before *c.* A.D. 272 or 273.[32]

References

1. *KG*, p. 89, *RFKE*, pp. 180f.
2. *TP*, 1904, s. II, vol. V, p. 819. In this connection see R. A. Stein, "*Le Lin-yi*", *Han Hieu*, vol. III, pt. 1-3, pp. 139-40.
3. Ch'en Shou, *San-Kuo chih*, (Po-na edition), section concerning the Wei empire, ch. 3, p. 6a.
4. *Begram*, p. 155. According to the calculations of S. H. Taqizadeh, Ardāshīr (I) ousted Artabanus (V) in A.D. 224 (*BSOAS*, 1946, vol. XI, pp. 20-24 and 38-39).

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5. Agathangelos, *History of Reign of Tiridate*, ch. II; Moses, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'* (Venice, 1889) bk. II, ch. LXXII; V. Langlois, *Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l' Armenie*, vol. I, p. 115; vol. II, p. 117. See also *JA*, 1866, s. VI, vol. VII, p. 142.

6. Moses, *op. cit.*, bk. II, ch. LXXII. Agathangelos (*op. cit.*, ch. I) referred to the "warlike population and the courageous soldiers of the Kushans."

7. Moses, *op. cit.*, bk. II, ch. LXXII.

8. *KG*, pp. 22-23.

9. Moses, *op. cit.*, bk. II, ch. LXXIII.

10. Moses refers to the expression *Cenpagur* and states that in "their language it wants to say "honour of the kingdom" (*op. cit.*, bk. II, ch. LXXXI; V. Langlois, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 121-23). *Cenpagur* probably stands for *C(h)inbagur*<*C(h)inbagpuhr* = *Chinadevaputra* = "The Chinese Son of God." According to certain Chinese chronicles, "Son of Heaven" (=Son of God) was a regular honorific title of Chinese emperors. Moses also implied the expression concerned as denoting an honorific title, though he was wrong in taking the term *pagur* as Chinese. See *JA*, 1863, s. VI, p. 425; *Begram*, p. 130, f.n 6.

11. Zenob, *Patmut'iwm Ttaraunoy*; *JA*, 1863, s. VI, vol. II, p. 425-26.

12. See n. 11; Moses, *op. cit.*, bk. II, ch. LXXIV; Agathangelos, *op. cit.*, ch. II; etc. The Armenian sources furnished confused statements on the duration of the period of struggle between Ardāshīr (I) and Chosroes (I), after the death of Ardawan (= Artabanus V). According to Zenob, it continued for ten years (or more ?) (*JA*, 1863, s. VI, vol. II, pp. 425-26). Agathangelos gives the impression that it lasted for a few years (V. Langlois, *op cit.*, vol. I, pp. 114f). It appears from the treatise of Moses that the struggle began by about the time of the Roman emperor Philip [(=Philip the Arabian, 243-249) or Philip Junior (247-249)] and continued even after the days of Valerian (253-260) (*ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 117-118). But these monarchs reigned during the period of Shāpūr I (242-272), the son of Ardāshīr. These data warn us against depending absolutely on the chronology suggested

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by any Armenian text. It is also doubtful whether Moses was correct in stating that once Chosroes pursued Ardāshīr up to India (Moses, *op. cit.*, bk. II, ch. LXXIII). (See also below n. 13).

13. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusūl Wa'l-mulūk;* Th. Noldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden, aus der arabischen Chronik des Tabari*, p. 15. The evidence of Ṭabarī is partly supported by a statement of Muhammad Bin Khāvendshāh bin Mahmud (or Mirkhond). His work *Rauzat-us-safa* records that Ardāshīr (I) "marched back from the plains to Estakhar, whence he proceeded to Sejestān, to Jorjān, Nishapūr, Merv, Balkh, and Khovarezm. When he had subjugated the last mentioned country, he again marched back towards Fārs, and received from all the surrounding kings presents as tokens of their submission". (*Rauzat-us-safa*, Oriental Translation Fund, *NS*, I, pt. I, vol. II, p. 328).

14. Mūhammad Kāsim Hindū Shāh, surnamed Firishta, stated in the introduction to his *Tārīkh-i-Firishta* that Jūnah "was contemporary with Ardāshīr Bābāgān One year Ardāshīr marched against India, and reached as far as the neighbourhood of Sirhind. Jūnah was very much alarmed, and hastened to do homage to him. He presented pearls and gold and jewels and elephants as tribute, and so induced Ardāshīr to return" (H.M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, reprint, 1964, pp. 557-58). [See also V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, (4th edition), p. 289 and f.n. 3 and *JRAS*, 1920, pp. 221f]. It is difficult to ascertain whether the account of such a late writer like Firishta, who was born in *c.* A. D. 1570, contains in a garbled form a tradition about Ardāshīr's expedition to India. (see also above n.12). We are also not sure whether V. A. Smith was right in considering a Shilada coin, found in the Jhelum district, as having been overstruck by the fire altar device of the coins of Ardāshīr I (*JRAS*, 1920, p. 224). The particular type of fire altar may perhaps relate the coin to a later Sasanian ruler (*Asiatic Society, Monthly Bulletin*, 1975, vol. VI, no. 6, p. 4).

15. *BSOAS*, 1946, vol. XI, p. 42.

16. *JNSI*, 1956, vol. XVIII, pt. I, pp. 22, 23, 31-32 and 34. The legend *Shoboro* is inscribed on the obverse of some bronze coins displaying on the obverse a bust to right wearing a

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mural crown and on the reverse an altar (*ibid.*, p. 34, no. 32). As the legend written in the Greek script is not as cursive or ligetured as in the coin-legends of Hormizd I Kushānshāh, the coins of Shoboro or Shāpūr in question should be dated before those of Hormizd I. The mural crown worn by the ruler in question is also similar to that of Shāpūr I. To him we may also attribute small bronze coins showing on the obverse a royal figure sacrificing, like the Kushāṇa royal figures on coins, at an altar. His crown is similar to that of Shāpūr I. The Bactrian legend on the obverse can be read as *Shoboro Koshono Shao* (*ibid.*, p. 22; pl. III, no. 21; E. Herzfeld, *The Kushano-Sasanian Coins*, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 38, p. 41, no. 2).

The *Kitāb al-Masālik W'al Mamālik* by Ibn Ḵhordādhbeh furnishes a list of titles bestowed by Ardāshīr. Here we find mention of *Buzurg Kushānshāh* (edited and translated by M. G. De Goeje, Lugduni Batavorum, 1889, pp. 13 and 17). Shāpūr I might have been the recipient of this title.

We may note here that E. Herzfeld attributed to Ardāshīr I a copper coin bearing on the obverse a bust and on the reverse a fire altar and a Bactrian legend (E. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 and 41, no. 1). But the royal crown on this piece is out of the flan, and so it cannot be definitely recognised as that of Ardāshīr I (H.H. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. XVII, no. 12). Moreover, the Bactrian inscription is illegible. The crown may be taken as that of Firuz I Kushānshāh. (*JNSI*, vol. XVIII, pl. IV, no. 33). So the coin in question cannot indicate Ardāshīr's occupation of Kushānshahr. The first numismatic evidence of the Sasanian occupation of a part of Kushānshahr (including Bactria) is supplied by the above coins of Shāpūr I.

17. A disciple of Mani converted or influenced the local prince of Turan (Parthian Fragment no. 1748; L. J. R. Ort, *Mani, A Religio-Historical Description of his Personality*, pp. 75-76) by the end of the reign of Ardāshīr (I) (*ZDMG*, 1936, vol. XC, p. 7; *PDK*, p. 184) or after the beginning of the reign of Shāpūr I as the supreme ruler of Iran (L. J. R. Ort, *op. cit.*, p. 211). This indicates that the royal family of Turan, which submitted to Ardāshīr I, was allowed to continue to rule there.

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Its ruler was then obviously a vassal of the Sassanid empire. But by the date of the composition of the Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription Nasrseh, the son of Shāpūr I, was made the king *inter alia* of Turan (*RGDS*, p. 15). Similarly, the Kushāṇa king, who submitted so Ardāshīr, might have been initially allowed to rule as a sort of a vassal of the Sasanid empire.

18. Moses refers to a quarrel between Arpog *Cenpagur* (= Chinese Son of God = Chinese king) and Ardāshīr (I) over granting asylum to a "satrap" of the former by the latter ruler. The quarrel started in the year of death of Ardāshīr (I) and ended during the reign of Shāpūr I (Moses, *op. cit.*, bk. II, ch. LXXXI).

19. Th. Noldeke, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-33 and 45; *BSOAS*, 1937-39, vol. IX, p. 125. According to Muhammad Bin Khāvendshāh bin Mahmud, Shāpūr (I) sent Hormuz (Hormizd) to Khorasan. He "humbled the enemies of the government (*op. cit.*, p. 335).

20. *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenchaften*, Phil. Hist. Klasse, 1933, pp. 301-6; *Bulletin of the School of Historical and Cultural Studies*, 1965, vol. I, no. 1, p. 13. The Manichaean text in question states that Mani despatched missionaries to Rome, and then sent Ammo to the Upper Provinces (Abarshahr). When Ammo and his companion came to the "borderpost of the Kushan", they were confronted with the guardian spirit of the East. The latter allowed the former to go to the east after hearing Ammo's arguments.

Though there is no question of accepting the episode of the spirit of the East as a historical fact, the story as a whole may have preserved the memory of some trouble in the Kushāṇa country about the time when Mani sent missionaries to Rome, i. e., the Roman Orient. Mani presumably sent them after Shāpūr I's success against the Roman empire in his second campaign against the latter (*Pakistan Quarterly*, vol. V, no 2, p. 29; *RGDS*, 11. 10-17 of the Greek text).

21. *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Valerian, IV, 1. The fact that the life of Valerian was written by Pollio in *c.* A.D. 300, and so not long after the reign of Shāpūr I (A. D. 242-272 or 273) (even though that work together with other lives in the *Scriptores* were revised at the end of the 4th century A. D.) should lend great historical importance to the above state-

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ment. (D. Magie (editor), *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, vol. III, pp. XXXVI). Since Valerian was captured by Shāpūr I in A. D. 259-60 or 260-61 (*RGDS*, p. 142, n. 3), the event mentioned in the above statment should be referred to about the same time. And the Bactrians in the present context may well mean the Kushāṇas (See n. 22).

22 *KG*, pp. 22-23.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85; pl. VIII and VIIIA, nos. 4f.

24. *KG*, pp. 84-88.

25. *NC*, 1892, pl. V, no. 11; pl. VI, no. 1; VII, no. 8; pl. IX, nos. A and B; etc.

26. R. Göbl, *Die Munzen Sasaniden Königlichen Munzkabinett, Haag*, fig. 2; R. Ghrishman, *Persia*, fig. 197.

27. *BSOAS*, 1937-39, vol. IX, p. 854.

28. *Syria*, 1958, p. 336.

29. Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription of Shāpūr I, ll. 3-5 of the Greek text; l.2 of the Parthian text; and l.2 of the Pahlavi text; *Syria*, 1958, p. 336.

30. Certain data suggest that persons named after or connected with the appellation *Kushāṇa* took part in active politics in the Sasanid empire even after the days of Shāpūr I (E. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 34). They, however, need not necessarily be assigned to Imperial Kushāṇa family. As residents of the territory then known as Kushānshahr they could be called Kushāṇas without having ethnic relations with the Imperial Kushāṇas (see *KG*, p. 19).

The *Nan-chou (i-wu) chih*, composed around the middle of the third century A.D. and quoted in Cheng-i commentary on the *Shih-chi* (ch. 123 p. 3), refers to a country of the Great Yüeh-chih situated about 7000 li north of T'ien-chu. Some later Chinese sources also perhaps refer to the same territory (*TP*, 1912, s. II, vol. XIV, pp. 97,123; *JA*, 1934, vol. CCXXIV, pp. 11, 15, etc.). The kingdom could have been called after the Great Yüeh-chih if it had been once a part of the Great Yüeh-chih (Kushāṇa) empire. It might have been in existence, either as a politically independent or dependent territory, even after the greater part of the Kushāṇa empire was annexed to the Sasanid empire. Its rulers need not be ethnically related to the Yüeh-chih race (see *KG*, p. 21.)

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31. *JNSI*, 1956, vol. XVIII, pt. I, pp. 31-32. Before Hormizd I Kushānshāh Kushāno-Sasanian silver and gold coins of Sasanian fabric were struck by Firuz I Kushānshāh, Kushāṇo-Sasanian small bronze coins with Iranian types were minted by Shāpūr I Kushānshāh and two rulers called Ardāshīr Kushānshāh, Kushāṇo-Sasanian small bronze pieces with 'Śiva and bull' on the reverse were struck by Firuz I Kushānshah, and Kushāṇo-Sasanian large copper coins with fire altar on the reverse were issued by Shāpūr (I) and Firuz I Kushānshāh (*ibid.*, pp 30-35). It is interesting to note that Firuz I Kushānshāh's coins of Sasanian fabric carry mint names alluding to Herat and Merv, which regions are not included by the Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription of Shāpūr I in Kushānshahr. Hormizd I Kushānshāh's gold coins, based on Vāsudeva II coins, sometime carry the mint name Baxlo or Balkh, which could have been in Kushānshahr.

32. It is now well established that Hormizd I Kushānshāh, son of the Sasanian emperor Shāpūr I, was the first Sasanian ruler to strike Kushāṇo-Sasanian gold coins following the devices (King at alter : Śiva with bull) and other features (weight, shape, etc.) of Vāsudeva II coinage and its imitations (*JNSI*, 1956, vol. XVIII, pt. I, pp. 13f). The series of Kushaṇo-Sasanian gold coins surely began after the annexation of Kushānshahr to the Sasanian empire. The exact date, is, however, not known. E. Herzfeld was inclined to place the date sometime after A. D. 252 (E. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-37, and 42).

There can, however, be serious objections against such a theory. The Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription of Shāpūr I includes a part of Kushānshahr in the list of the provinces of the empire. But it does not speak of a Kushānshāh in the sections where it refers to the establishment of "fires" and "making of sacrifices" mainly in honour of different members of the royal family, among whom were rulers of several provinces (*Syria*, 1958, pp. 316-30 and 336). Nevertheless, the epigraph concerned mentions in these sections the name of Hormizd-ardāshīr, the son of the emperor (*ibid.*, 1958, pp. 317 and 319; ll. 40-41 and 48 of the Greek, Parthian and Pahlavi versions of the epigraph). Hormizd-ardāshīr, the son of Shāpūr I, was apparently the same as Hormizd I, son of

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Shāpūr I, who initiated the series of Kushāṇo-Sasanian gold coins. In Shāpūr's record he is described as the "Great King of Armenia" (*ibid.*) and not as the King of Kushān (shahr).

It appears that Hormizd I had not yet begun to rule as Kushānshāh when the draft of the Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription was prepared. The required date has been placed in *c.* A.D. 262 (*BSOAS*, 1946, vol. IX, p. 835). Hence Hormizd I's rule in Kushānshahr probably did not begin before *c.* A. D. 262. On the other hand, he ceased to be the governor of that province before or by sometime of A.D. 272 or 273, when his father Shāpūr I died and he succeeded him on the imperial throne.

These considerations suggest that Hormizd I could not have struck Kushāṇo-Sasanian gold coins before *c.* A. D. 272 or 273. So the series probably began sometime in or after A.D. 262 and before *c.* A.D. 272 or 273.

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CHAPTER V

BETWEEN PURUSHAPURA AND MATHURĀ

A

Situation was not much better for the Kushāṇas to the east of Purushapura or Peshawar during the period between their de-jure submission to the Sasanids and the establishment of firm control of Shāpūr I over Kushānshahr up to Peshawar in or before *c.* A.D. 262. We have elsewhere suggested the rule of Vāsudeva II in *inter alia* the area to the east of Peshawar, Punjab and also perhaps in the Mathurā region.[1] If the expression *Mahāraja Rājatirāja* in a Mathurā epigraph of the year 299[2] indicates a Kushāṇa monarch, and if that year can be ascribed to the era of 58 B.C. (Chapter II, sec. A), then Kushāṇa Vāsudeva II, who might have been on the throne in *c.* A.D 230 (Chapter IV, sec. A), could have been the king alluded to in the Mathurā inscription.

Vāsudeva II was, therefore, still ruling in the year 299 or A.D. 241-42. Till the time he imitated Shāpūr I's headdress in one of his coin-types, ascribable to an area to the west of Peshawar, Vāsudeva II could have been in possession, although as a Sasanian vassal, not only of that region but also a stretch of territory to its east up to the locality of Mathurā. But it is not clear whether Vāsudeva II continued to rule, as a Sasanian vassal or as an independent ruler, to the east of Peshawar even after Kushānshahr to the west of it was finally and firmly annexed to the empire of Shāpūr I. Even if Vāsudeva II was then able to re-establish his independence in a territory to the east of Peshawar, he became the king of a small independent kingdom, and not again the sovereign of a vast Kushāṇa empire.

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The Kushāṇa territory to the east of Peshawar fell into pieces during or immediately after the rule of Vāsudeva II. We have already noted elsewhere that Bazeshko (or Vāsishka II), who flourished after Vāsudeva II and might or might have been a genuine Kushāṇa king, ruled only in the Punjab area of the Indian subcontinent.[3]

There are indications that not even the whole of that region was controlled by Bazeshko alone. Some copper coins bear on the obverse an enthroned king holding a diademed fillet in his right hand and crowning himself with another diademed fillet held in the left hand. The legend on the obverse is *Vasu*, written in the Brāhmī script. On the reverse appear an enthroned goddess (Ardokhsho), holding a fillet or a wreath and a cornucopia, and a four-pronged symbol.[4] These coins may be related to the Kushāṇa specie on account of similarities between their respective types and symbols. However, since they have no Bactrian legend—a characteristic of the regular Kushāṇa coinage from some-time in the reign of Kanishka I—we cannot confidently assign them to the Imperial Kushāṇa family. They were struck probably by a person called *Vasu*, who had carved out for himself a territory from the Kushāṇa empire.

If Vasu can be identified with Vasu, whose name occurs probably as a subordinate ruler on certain coins of Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II, bearing enthroned Ardokhsho on the reverse,[5] it may be supposed that Vasu first served under Kanishka III and then under Vāsudeva II. Since these coins of Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II are ascribable to the Punjab area, Vasu probably served them somewhere in that region. Later he became independent there, as suggested by his above noted coins. The act of crowning himself with a diademed fillet, one of the marks of sovereignty, indicates assumption of independence by Vasu. The appearance of enthroned Ardokhsho on these pieces points to their

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circulation in or near the area where specie of Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II with the same reverse device had been in circulation.

Some copper coins bear the name of Vasu on one side and a four-pronged symbol on the other.[6] These may also be ascribed to the ruler in question.

Along with these classes of coins we should also take notice of several specie, closely imitating "king at altar : enthroned Ardokhsho holding a cornucopia and a fillet" coins of Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II. These coins were struck by the families of Vasu, (probably the same as Vasu noted in the last three paragraphs), Shaka, Shilada, Mahi Gaḍahara and Kush(āṇa) (?)[7] As these coins have mostly been found in the northern Punjab area of the Indian subcontinent,[8] these ruling dynasties or at least a few of them may be considered as the successors of the Imperial Kushāṇas in that region.[8a] The first Sananian intrusion in the territory of the Punjab is perhaps indicated by a British Museum piece, showing on the reverse an enthroned Ardokhsho holding a cornucopia and a crown looking like those worn by rulers on the above coins, and displaying on the obverse a male figure at an altar wearing a head-dress recognisable as that of Varahran I Kushānshāh (*c.* A.D. 272 or 273 to 273 or 274).[9]

B

The sources discussed in section A indicate the successors of the Imperial Kushāṇas in the northern and the western regions of the Punjab area of the Indian subcontinent. There are also certain data which may be of help in determining their successors in the territories further east.

Several large copper coins, carrying on one side a male figure (Śiva) and on the other devices mostly resembling those on the known Kuṇinda specie, are attributed to the

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Kuṇinda tribe.[10] The module of these pieces is influenced by Kushāṇa copper coins.[11] The palaeographic features of the legends on these coins may perhaps date them to the end of the 2nd century or rather to the 3rd century A. D.[12] The distribution of these and other Kuṇinda pieces suggests that the Kuṇindas occupied (or lived at different times in different areas of) the territory between the upper courses of the Beas and the Sutlej, the land at the foot of the Siwalik hills between the Yamuna and the Sutlej, and the Garhwal district and some other parts of Kumaon division.[13] Thus the habitat of the Kuṇindas included in one single period or at different times parts of the northern areas of Indian Punjab southern areas of Himachal Pradesh, northern region of Haryana and northernmost division of U.P.[14] These regions or parts thereof might have been under the Kushāṇas till the closing decades of their empire.[15] It is not impossible that in those territories or in parts thereof the Kuṇindas, who had struck coins in an earlier period,[15a] resumed minting when evil days befell the Kushāṇa empire.[16]

The archaeological materials, including epigraphs, discovered at the Aśvamedha sites at Jagataram (not far from Dehra Dun, U.P.) indicate the performance of at least four Aśvamedha sacrifices by a king of Yugaśaila called Śilavarman.[17] As palaeographically the records may be assigned to the second half of the 3rd century A.D.,[18] there is a possibility of the sacrifices having been performed immediately after the fall of the Kushāṇas.

The Kushāṇa rule further south is suggested by the discoveries made in the locality of Ramnagar (in the Bareilly district of U.P.), identified with ancient Ahichchhtrā of North Pañchāla (Chapter II, sec. A). We have shown above that the Kushāṇas ruled here till the closing decades or even up to the fall of the empire, and that they were succeeded in

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this area by an ancestor of Achyu or by a ruler or a few rulers who flourished some time before the family of Achyu rose to power.

The successors of the Kushāṇas in the central and southern parts of Indian Punjab and Haryana can be determined with the help of numismatic and other data.

There are large Yaudheya pieces, showing the god Kārtikeya on one side and a female deity on the other. The obverse legend can be read as *Yaudheyagaṇasya jaya*.[19] These pieces, which betray Kushāṇa influence and are dated approximately to the 3rd-4th century A.D.,[20] have been found at or near Behat, Hansi, Kharkauḍah, Sonpat, Jaijaivanti (Jind Tahsil of the Rohtak district), Garhwal, etc.[21] Moulds for coins referring or alluding to their victory have been found at Sunet near Ludhiana.[22] The Yaudheyas, who had struck coins in Eastern Punjab (and Haryana) of the Indian subcontinent before the Christian Era, had to lie low during the supremacy of the Indo-Greeks, the Scytho-Parthians and then the Kushāṇas. It has already been suggested that the territory of the Yaudheyas of the Eastern Punjab area was at least for sometime within the Kushāṇa empire.[23] A branch of the Yaudheyas became active perhaps in or near the dominions of Rudradāman I by about the middle of the 2nd century A.D.[24] The coins noted above, which carry the legend *Yaudheyagaṇasya jaya* (victory of the Yaudheya republic), indicate the winning of independence by the Yaudheya tribe in a certain area which had been once under the Kushāṇas.

Among the early leaders of this rejuvenescent republic we may perhaps include Mahārāja Mahākshatrapa Mahāsenāpati Indramitra and his successor Mahārāja Mahākshatrapa Senāpati Indramitra-Nandavarman (sic).[25] Their names have been noticed in a clay seal inscription found in the Hissar district.[26] The inscription may be palaeographically dated to about the 3rd century A.D.[27]

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It is interesting to note that one Mahārāja Mahāsenāpati of the Yaudheya republic is mentioned in an inscription found at Bijaygarh in the Bharatpur region of Rajasthan.[28] This record is perhaps palaeographically datable to the second half of the 3rd century A.D.[29] It's evidence may allude to the extension of the power of the Yaudheyas or to the existence of one of their settlments in the Bharatpur area sometime in or about the second half of the 3rd century A.D.

Bharatpur is not very far to the south-west of Mathurā, one of the important cities in the Kushāṇa empire. So the Bharatpur region could have been for sometime inside the Kushāṇa empire. If this was actually the case, the Yaudheyas probably succeeded the Kushāṇas in that area.

Thus the Yaudheyas appear to have succeeded the Kushāṇas in the lower region of Eastern Punjab (and Haryana) of the Indian subcontinent and possibly also in the area of Bharatpur in North-Western Rajasthan.[30]

The *Purāṇas* refer to the rule of the seven (or nine) *Nāgas* at *inter alia* Mathurā immediately before speaking of the rule of the Guptas at Prayāga, Sāketa, Magadha, etc.[31] It appears from the context that the Nāga hegemony in Mathurā preceded or at least was partly contemporaneous with the initial stage of the kingdom of the Guptas.[32] If Gaṇapatināga, one of the kings uprooted by Samudragupta,[33] is identified with the chief of the same name whose coins have been found at *inter alia* Mathura,[34] the Imperial Guptas may be considered to have conquered Mathurā from the Nāgas. In any case, the find-spot of the Mathura pillar inscription dated in the reign of Chandragupta and in the year 61 of the (Gupta) Era[35] shows that the area concerned was annexed to the Gupta empire in or before A.D. (61 + 319/20) 380-81. The rule of seven or nine Nāgas in Mathurā should be placed before that year. And since the

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known dates of many ruling families of North India give an average of nineteen years per reign,[36] the Nāga rule might have commenced in Mathurā by about the middle of the 3rd century A.D., if not in a still earlier period. Hence the area concerned could have remained under the Kushāṇas up to about the middle of the 3rd century A.D.[37] This inference is in conformity with our suggestion that Vāsudeva II might have been ruling in Mathurā in a year as late as A.D. 241-42 (see above section A). It appears that in the Mathura area the Kushāṇas were succeeded by the Nāgas.

References

1. *RFKE*, pp. 180f.
2. *IA*, 1908, vol. XXXVII, pp. 23f and pl.
3. *RFKE*, pp. 189f.
4. *NC*, 1947, p. 51; *Taxila*, vol. II, p. 821, no. 269.
5. *CCIM*, vol. I, pl. XIII, no. 11; *KG*, pl. VIII, no. 3; British Museum Cabinet, Tray no. L.K. 2, coin no. Vasu/3, etc.
6. *NC*, 1892, pl. XIV, no. 1.
7. *Ibid.*, 1893, pp. 120-124; pl. VIII, nos. 8 and 11; pl. IX, nos. 1f; 1894, p. 199; pl. IX, no. 9, pl. XV, no. 3.
8. *Ibid.*, 1893, p. 121; *Taxila*, vol. I, p. 283.

8a. All of these families, especially those of Gaḍahara and Kush (āṇa) (Kidāra Kushāṇa) might not have ruled immediately or shortly after the Imperial Kushāṇas (in this connection see *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1908, NS, vol. IV, p.92; *Numismatic Supplement* 1937, no. XLVII pp. 39f.)

9. *JNSI*, 1956, vol. XVIII, pt. I, pp. 40-42; pl. IV, no. 47; *BSOAS*, 1946, vol. XI, p. 42. V.A. Smith suggested that a coin of the Shiladas was overstruck with the fire altar device of Aadāshīr I (*JRAS*, 1920, p. 224). But the coin does not betray any sign of overstriking. Moreover, the fire altar resembles that on the coins of Hormizd I. It appears that the Shiladas imitated the fire altar type of Hormizd I, during or after his rule (*Asiatic Society Monthly Bulletin*, June, 1975, p. 4).
10. J. Allan, *A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum, Catalgue of the Coins of Ancient India*, pp. CIII and 167.
11. *Ibid.*

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12. *Ibid*, p. CIII. Note the forms of the letters *va*, *na*, etc. (*ibid.*, pl. XXIII, no. 13 and 14).
13. *Ibid.*, p. CIII; *JNSI*, 1956, vol. XVIII, p. 46; 1961, vol. XXIII, p. 386; etc. It should be noted that a new administrative division called Uttarakhand has been created out of Kumaon Division of U. P.
14. Our inference about the limit of the habitat of the Kuṇindas is in conformity with the statement of Ptolemy that below the sources of the Bibasis (i.e. the *Beas*), and of the Zaradros (i.e. the *Sutlez*), and of the Diamouna (i.e. the *Yamuna*) and of the Ganges is Kylindrine (*i.e. the land of the Kulindas or Kuṇindas*) (*Italics ours*) (*Ptolemy*, VII, 1, 42).
15. *RFKE*, pp. 198-99, n. 20.
15a. J. Allan, *op. cit.*, p. ciii.
16. We do not know whether the Kulutas, whose territory was in the Kulu valley and whose coinage is datable to the first or early second century A. D. (or still later ?), had anything to do with the Kushāṇa empire.
17. *IA, AR*, 1953-54, pp. 10-11.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 11. (*ibid.*, p. 119).
19. J. Allan, *op. cit.*, p. 276; see also p. 270.
20. *Ibid.*, p. ci.
21. *Ibid.*; *JNSI*, 1961, vol. XXIII, pp. 384-386; 1962, vol. XXIV, p. 138.
22. *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1884, pp. 137-141; B. Sahni, *The Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India*, pp. 32f. pl. iv, nos. 89-105.
23. *RFKE*, pp. 198-99, n. 20.
24. *EI*, vol. VIII, p. 44.
25. *JNSI*, 1970, vol. XXXII, pl. V, no. 1; pp. 154-157. Following the readings of Bhagavan Dev Acharya and P. L. Gupta, a seal inscription can be read as *Yaudheya-gaṇa-puraskṛitasya (Mahārāja)—Mahākshatrapa-Mahasenāpater=Indramitra Mahāsenāpatī=Indramitra*—grihītasya Mahārāja-Mahākshatrapa-Senāpater=apratiratha—śāsanasya Dharmamitra—Nandavarmaṇah.* This inscription describes the seal as "of Mahārāja Mahākshatrapa Senapati, the irresistible chastiser Dharmamitra—Nandavarman (sic), who has been made leader of the Yaudheya *gaṇa* (and) who has been aecepted by Mahārāja Mahākshatrapa Mahāsenapati Indramitra". It appears that Indramitra was

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the immediate predecessor of Dharmamitra-Nandavarman in the post of the leadership of the Yaudheya *gaṇa*. In this connection see also *JNSI*, 1974, vol. XXXVI, p. 117.

26. *Ibid.*, 1970, vol. XXXII, p. 154.

27. The inscription cannot be read with confidence from its photograph published in *ibid.*, pl. V, (no. 1). Nevertheless, the forms of the letters, which can be easily recognised, tend to ascribe the seal to the 3rd century A.D.

28. J F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors*, pp. 151-152.

29. See *ibid.*, pl. XXXVI, no. B. see also *ibid.*, p. 151.

30. The legend *Yaudhey-gaṇasya jaya* reminds us of the inscription *Ajuṉāyanānāṁ jaya* on the coins of the Ārjunāyanas and of the legends *Mālava jaya, Mālavaṇa (or Mālavanā) jaya* (or *jaya Mālavaṇa), Malavāhṇā jaya, Mālavaga (ṇasya) (jaya)* and *Mālavānāṁ jaya (or jaya Mālavānāṁ)* on coins of the Mālavas. (J. Allan, *op. cit.*, pp. LXXXII, 167 and cv; K. K. Das Gupta, *The Mālavas*, pp. 7-10). The provenances of the coins of the Ārjunāyanas suggest that their habitat probably lay in the region between Delhi, Agra and Jaipur (J. Allan, *op. cit.*, p. LXXXIII). The legend of the coins of the Ārjunāyanas has been palaeographically dated to different periods ranging from *c.* 100 B.C. to *c.* A.D. 200, *(ibid.; IHQ*, vol. XXVII, p. 208). Thus though their territory might have been substantially in the Kushāṇa empire, we cannot be sure whether their coins should be dated to the age of its decline and not to an earlier period like that of the disintegration of the Scytho-Parthian dominions in the 1st century A.D.

The Scytho-Parthian territory, stretching from *inter alia* North-Western India to Mathurā, could well have included parts of the habitat of the Ārjunāyanas. When the Scytho-Parthian power declined, the Ārjunāyanas could have tried to assert their independence by striking coins. Whatever might have been the fact, the reference in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta to the Ārjunāyanas as one of the tribes paying taxes, etc., to him shows their political importance in the 4th century A.D. But they might have gained or regained this importance after the fall of the Kushāṇas.

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The coins of the Mālavas are taken to have been issued in different periods ranging from about the middle of the 3rd or rather 2nd century B.C. to about the middle of the 4th century A.D. (K.K. Das Cupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-16). These have been fouud in great number at Karkota Nagar, some 25 miles south-south-east of Tonk and 45 miles north-north-east of Bundi in Rajasthan. Two epigraphs of the Kṛita year 282 (=A.D. 225-26), referring to the achievements of (Srī ?) Soma, the leader of the Sogis and of the Mālava family, have been found inscribed on a stone pillar (*Yūpa*) at Nandsa, 36 miles to the east of Bhilwara Railway station in Rajasthan (*EI*, vol. XXVII, p. 252 and 263-265). The find-spot of the inscriptions, which also speak of the performance of the "Ekashashṭhī rātra" sacrifice by the said leader in Mālava-gaṇa-vishaya, alludes to the inclusion of the Nandsa region in the territory of the Mālavas. Thus an area of Eastern or South-Eastern Rajasthan was occupied by the Mālavas during the Kushāṇa period. They had earlier migrated to this territory from an area in North-Western India (K.K. Das Gupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23).

Nandsa is not far to the north of Chitor, in which locality one may locate Tiattoura of Ptolemy (*VII*, 1, 63). We have noted elsewhere that this place was within the domain of Tiastenes or Chasṭhana (*RFKE*, p. 156). If Chashṭana served the Kushāṇas (*ibid.*, pp. 79-77 and 158), the Mālavas might have for some time lived in or near the area under the political influence of the Kushāṇas.

The Mālavas might have acknowledged the supremacy of the indpendent ruler Rudradāman I in *c.* A. D. 150, if Kukura, one of his provinces, included parts of Eastern Rajasthan (*EI*, vol. VII, p. 44; *CADWK*, p. XXXI). The authority of the family of Rudradāman I over the Mālavas may be considered to have been lost in or by *c.* A. D. 225-26, provided the Nandsa inscriptions are taken to allude to an independent Mālava-gaṇavishaya.

There are data suggesting an internecine struggle for power between the scions of the family of Rudradāman I in and about A. D. 225-26. Rudrasena I ruled as Mahākshatrapa from the year 122 to 144 of the Śaka Era (i.e., A. D.

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199/200-221/22). His brother Saṅghadāman struck coins as Mahākshatrapa in the year 144, 145 and also 149 (i.e., A. D. 221-22, 222-23 and 226-27). But Dāmasena, a brother of Saṅghadāman, is known to have ruled also as Mahākshatrapa from the year 145 to 158. (i.e, A. D. 222/23-235/36) *(CCADHWK*, pp. 96f; *ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 232; but see also *JNSI*, 1948, vol. X, p. 132).

The Kshatrapa dynasty might have also experienced political pressure from outside. Sindhu and Sauvīra, located in the lower Indus country, were under Rudradāman I in *c.* A. D. 150. The lower Indus region or the greater part of it was incorporated in India or Hindustan, described as a province of the Sasanid empire in the Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription of *c.* A. D. 262. This territory was probably annexed to the Sasanid empire sometime after the Parthian king Artabanus V had been ousted by the Sasanid ruler Ardāshīr in the third decade of the 3rd century A. D. The Sasanids could not possibly have an opportunity for turning to the east before destroying their arch enemy Artabanus V.

Thus in the third decade of the 3rd century A. D. the Kshatrapa rulers of Western India were exposed to internal and also external troubles. The Mālavas may be considered to have availed themselves of the opportunity to rise against the Kshatrapas, if we take the Nandsa inscriptions of A. D. 225-26 as alluding to the independent rule of the Mālavas, and if we can attribute some of their coins with the legends *Malavānāṁ jaya or Mālavagaṇasya jaya* to about the first quarter of the 3rd century A. D.

The Mālavas thus had no direct responsibility for the decline of the Kushāṇa empire. However, their success against their overlord might have encouraged the fissiparous tendencies among similar tribes living in the Kushāṇa territory situated not very far to the north of the domain of the Mālavas.

31. *Vishṇu Purāṇa* (edited by P. Tarkaratna), IV, 24, 18; *Vāyu Purāṇa* (edited by P. Tarkaratna), 99, 382-383; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (edited by D. Tarka Vyākaraṇa-tīrtha and others), XII, 1, 37-40; F.E. Pargitar, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p 53 and fn. 2.

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32. F.E. Pargitar, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
33. J.F. Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
34. *PHAI*, p. 536; R.C. Majumdar and A.S. Altekar, (editors), *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age* (reprint), p. 180. Coins of Gaṇapatināga have been found mainly in the Mathura area (R.C. Majumdar and A.S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 36, fn. 1). His coins have been discovered in large number also in the localities of Narwar and Besnagar (A. Cunningham, *Coins of Mediaeval India*, p. 24; *IHQ*, 1925, vol. I, p. 255). But Besnagar was probably under one of the tribes (Śanakānikas) who paid taxes, etc., to Samudragupta. Narwar might have been in possession of Nāgasena before he was exterminated by Samudragupta, if the former was the same as Nāgasena, mentioned as one of the Naga kings of Padmāvatī, located at Padam-Pawaya in the Narwar region (*PHAI*, p. 536; R.C Majumdar and A.S. Altekar (editors), *op. cit.*, p. 132).
35. *EI*, vol. XXI, pp. 8 f.
36. A.L. Basham, *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, pp. 84-86; *ASSIPH*, p. 131, n, 169a.
37. Excavations at Sonkh, situated in the Mathura district and not very far from the city, of Mathura have, yielded interesting results. Here as many as six levels (16-22) of occupation have been attributed to the Kushāṇa period. The level 15 and the latest phase of the level 16 have been found to belong to the Gupta phase. (*IAAR*, 1969-70 p. 42; 1970-71, p. 40; *Journal of Indian History, Golden Jubilee Number*, p. 141). Hence there might not have been very great interval between the end of the Kushaṇa rule and the beginning of the Gupta rule in this area. This inference supports the above hypothesis that in the Mathura region the Kushāṇas might have continued to rule up to about the middle of the 3rd century A.D.

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CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

A

The absence of an energetic ruler like Kanishka I and the difficulty of effecting direct control over the far-flung eastern provinces might have encouraged a process of their gradual secession from the empire. Even if such may have been the case, there is no evidence of any general or concerted revolt of the eastern territories against the Kushāṇas. The excavations conducted at sites to the east, north-east and south-east of the Mathura region, which may have been once in the Kushāṇa empire, do not indicate any violent end of the Kushāṇa rule in those areas.[1] The transition from the rule of the Kushāṇas to those of their successors in those territories seems to have been peaceful. It appears that administrative difficulties, and perhaps also strategic inconvenience, and comparative unimportance of these provinces in relation to contemporary international trade, in which the empire was vitally interested, probably prompted the Imperial Kushāṇas to withdraw voluntarily from there. Local personages including some erstwhile representatives of the Kushāṇas, filled up the vacuum caused by the withdrawal. The withdrawal might have been effected in one single period. Or it might have been done gradually starting from the days of Vāsudeva I or Huvishka or even Vāsishka.

The large number and the great varieties of Huvishka's coins suggest that the economic viability and the vitality of the empire, which thrived in trade, was maintained at least up to the beginning of the reign of his successor on the Kushāṇa throne. This should have been the case even though the political structure of the empire, which was based

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on satrapies ruled over sometimes by ambitious satraps,[2] was somewhat loose in character. The economic foundation of the empire seems to have been really shaken during the reign of Vāsudeva I when the Kushāṇo-Roman commerce declined and the Kushāṇas lost certain territories with important ports to the family of Chashṭana.[3] The loose structure of the empire, now economically shaken and politically disturbed, probably began to totter even during the days of Vāsudeva I. Still, he was able to hold a vast territory from Central Asia to Mathura.

The death-blow to the empire was given by the Sasanids. The independent Kushāṇa empire was dead the moment Vāsudeva II submitted to Ardāshīr I sometime after the latter's victory over Artabanus V or rather sometime after c. A. D. 230 and before *c.* A. D. 242. The dependent Kushāṇa ruler might have been allowed to continue to rule in at least some parts of the erstwhile Kushāṇa empire. He might have even made a vain attempt to re-assert his supremacy. But in or sometime before *c.* A. D. 262, the date of the composition of the Naqsh-i-Rustam epigraph of Shāpūr I, Kushānshahr up to Peshawar (i. e., the whole or most of the extra-Indian possessions of the Imperial Kushāṇas) was firmly annexed to the Sasanid empire.

Vāsudeva II might have still continued to rule for some time more, as a vassal or as semi-independent or nominally independent chief of a territory from Peshawar to Mathura. But he was apparently unable to check fissiparous and centrifugal tendencies among his local officials, chiefs and tribes. They asserted their independence from the weak authority of the Kushāṇas during or immediately after the period of Vāsudeva II either by fighting or without fighting against it. The legend on the coins of the Yaudheyas referring to the victory of their republic may only allude to the re-assertion of their independence and does not necessarily mean

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that they scored victory over the Kushāṇas in a battle. Even if they actually defeated the Kushāṇas, their rival was a weak Kushāṇa dominion and not the mighty Kushāṇa empire, which had already been dead.[4]

The success of the Mālavas against the Kshatrapas of Western India, who might have been feeling the pressure of the Sasanids, could have been one of the factors inspiring the Yaudheyas and some other peoples, living not very far from the Mālava territory, to assert their independence of the weak Kushāṇas, who had already lost their Imperial status to the Sasanids. There is, however, nothing to suggest that the Yaudheyas dealt "the first great blow to the Kushāṇas",[5] or that the Yaudheyas made a common cause with the Mālavas and the Ārjunāyanas against the Kushāṇas,[6] or that the Kushāṇa empire collapsed before the onslaught of some Indian powers.[7]

B

The above analysis of the events leading to the fall of the empire shows that there were economic as well as political reasons behind this act of history. We can also trace different phases in the decline of the empire. During the first phase of diminution of their territory the Imperial Kushāṇas lost their possession to the south-east and east of Mathura and Pañchāla. This loss, which might have been even due to some voluntary action or actions, occurred either all at once and within a very short span of time or gradually over several years. The second phase, which might or might not have been chronological partly overlapping the first stage, was marked with the loss of the lower Indus country (and a few other areas ?) and with the end of the Kushāṇa influence in the Deccan. This phase was completed by sometime during the reign of Vāsudeva I. The third phase, which might have witnessed the secession of some more areas from the empire,

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reached its climax with the submission of the Imperial Kushāṇas to Ardāshīr I during the reign of Vāsudeva II, sometime in or before A.D. 242 and probably after A.D. 230. This submission signified the fall of the empire.

There were also stages in the aftermath of the fall of the empire. The Kushāṇa chief Vāsudeva II ruled probably as a vassal of the Sasanids for some time during the first stage, which might have come to an end with his attempt to re-assert his independence. The second stage was signified by the annexation of Kushānashahr up to Peshawar to the Sasanid empire in or before A.D. 262. There could have been a third stage during a period of which Vāsudeva II might have ruled, at least nominally, over a territory from Peshawar to Mathura. Either after or during this stage or even about the beginning of the first stage of the aftermath of the fall of the empire the local powers might have asserted their independence in different areas from Peshawar to Mathura.

With the close of the rule of Vāsudeva II and the parcelling out of different areas of the Kushāṇa territory to the east of Peshawar among the local powers ended the final stage of the aftermath of the fall of the empire. Even if Bazeshko, who is known to have ruled in one such fragment of the erstwhile Kushāṇa empire, is taken, for the sake of argument, to have been a scion of the family of Kanishka I, he cannot be considered to have been more than a local Kushāṇa chief who enjoyed the spoils of the dead empire. We have shown elsewhere that he was not one of the Imperial Kushāṇas.[8] It is also doubtful whether he was at all a genuine Kushāṇa ruler.[9]

The above stages of the decline of the Kushāṇa empire and of the aftermath of its fall show, as we have noted above, that it died when it was compelled to submit to the Sasanids.

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The Indian tribes and other local chiefs, who probably danced over its corpse, facilitated its burial or cremation by about or shortly after the middle of the 3rd century A.D.

References

1. The voluntary withdrawal of the Roman forces from Britain may be cited as a similar, though not exactly a parallel example (A. E. R. Boak and W. G. Sinningen, *A History of Rome to A. D. 565*, p. 475; A Robinson, *Ancient History* (2nd edition), p. 661).
2. The earliest rulers of the house of Chashṭana can be considered to have been such ambitious satraps, if their family initially acknowledged the sovereignty of the Kushāṇas (see above Chapter I).
3. We have suggested elsewhere that the second city of Begram (in the territory of modern Afghanistan), which was within the Kushāṇa empire, might have been destroyed during this period, probably due to some local trouble (*RFKE*, pp. 196-98).
4. These considerations do not allow us to place implicit faith in the hypothesis about the victory of the Yaudheyas over Kushāṇas (R. C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar (editors), *The Vakaṭaka-Gupta Age* (reprint) pp. 26-30; *Proceedings of All India Oriental Conference*, 1943, vol. XII, p. 513) or to support the theory that the Yaudheyas "dealt the first great blow at the Kushaṇas" (*Com. His. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 256).
5. See above n. 4.
6. It has been suggested that "the enemies, most probably the Kushaṇas, were ousted from power by constant attacks (and perhaps simultaneous attacks) of Indian peoples like the Yaudheyas, Mālavas and Ārjunāyanas" (*Journal of Oriental Research*, 1971, vol. XX, p. 440; K. K. Dasgupta, *A Tribal History of Ancient India*, p. 26; see, however, also p. 106). Such a hypothesis cannot be substantiated by known facts (see also above no. 4).
7. No reliable source can be convincingly interpreted to prove that the Kushāṇa empire collapsed before the onslaughts of the Bhāraśivas and then of the Vākāṭakas (K. P. Jayaswal,

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History of India, pp. 49-50 and 90). The testimonies of Firishta, the coins of Vīrasena, the Kushāṇo-Sassanian coins, and the Aśvamedha sacrifices performed by the Bhāraśivas and the Vākāṭakas, which are adduced in support of this hypothesis, never explicitly refer or implicitly imply their success against the Kushāṇas. See also A. S. Altekar and R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-24.

8. *RFKE*, p. 194; *JNSI*, 1972, vol. XXXIV, pp. 34-35.
9. *RFKE*, p. 194; *JNSI*, 1972, vol. XXXIV, p. 35.

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SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

1. P. 43

   n. 11. Add the following after "mutilated" in line no. 9 :
   In this connection see also *Tsentralnayä Aziyä U Kushanskuu Epokhu* (cited below as *TSAKE*), vol. II, pp. 14-16.

2. P. 44

   n. 56. Add the following after "pp. 37-41." in line no. 34 :
   The most important evidence of the Kushāṇa conquest of Sāketa and so of the nearby Ayodhyā area is constituted by two Chinese texts and a Tibetan treatise (*KD*, pp. 20-21 and 37f). These sources have been igonred in a recent writing on the history of Ayodhyā during *inter alia* the Kushāṇa age (B. Lahiri, *Indigenous States of Northern India (Circa 200 B.C. to 320 A.D.)*, p. 142).

3. P. 45

   n. 73. Add the following after "sealings." in line no. 23 :
   In this connection see also *Asiatic Society, Monthly Bulletin*, November, 1975, pp. 6-7 ; *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, May, 20, 1976, p. 27 ; etc.

4. P. 45

   n. 86. Add the following after "412-13" in line no. 40 :
   A few coins, with legends referring to Vārāṇasī, have been found at Rajghat (*JNSI*, vol. XII, pp. 134-135). A sealing of the government of the locality of Vārāṇasī was unearthed at Rajghat in 1940, (*IAAR*, 1957-58, p. 50). These data may suggest that the Rajghat area could have been once within the limits of Vārāṇasī (see also B. Lahiri, *op. cit.*, p. 76).

5. P. 46

   n. 111. Add the following after "p. 180" in line no. 35 :
   See also Jinavijaya Muni, *Purātanaprabandha Saṅgraha*, pp. 91-92 ; sec. 44.

6. P. 47

   n. 118. Add the following after "etc." in line no. 12 :
   In this connection see also *TSAKE*, vol. II, pp. 11-12.

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7. P. 47

n. 127. Add the following after "pp. 10-11." in line no. 23 :
See also D. K. Ganguly, *Historical Geography and Dynastic History of Orissa (up to the Rise of the Gangas)*, pp, 150f.

8. P. 48

n. 147. Add the following after "pp. 142f." in line no. 28 :
In this connection see also A. Ghosh, "The Kushan Levels at Some Excavated Sites in North India", *TSAKE*, vol. II, pp. 108-111.

9. P. 57

n. 10. Add the following after "pp. 47-48" in line no. 1 :
In some Greek manuscripts of Ptolemy's *Geographike Huphegesis* an *emporion* called Diba is included in Indo-Scythia (L. Renou, *La Geographie de Ptolemee l'Inde* (*VII,—1-4*), p. 26). But since Diba is not mentioned in the majority of the Greek and in any of the Latin manuscripts of the treatise (*ibid.*, p. 26) the occurrence in some manuscripts of the expression *Diba emporion* in the section concerning Indo-Scythia (VII, 1, 56f) may be explained as an interpolation or a scribal error.

Monoglosson, and *emporion*, was placed by Ptolemy in Syrastrene (VII, 1, 3). He, however, did not refer to Monoglossan, *emporion* while describing Indo-Scythia, even though Syrastrene formed one of the provinces of his Indo-Scythia. Whatever might have been the reason for this discrepancy, Monoglosson, identified with modern Mangrol in the Kathiawar peninsula, was certainly outside the lower Indus area. The very fact that Ptolemy did not designate Barbara on the lower Indus as an emporion, even though Barbarikon (i. e. Barbara) had been described as such by the author of the Periplus (S. N. Majumdar-Sastri, *McCrindle's Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy*, p. 148), should indicate that Ptolemy was not aware of the existence of any important *emporion* in the lower Indus area.

Ptolemy's "*emporion*", it may be added here, denoted an oriental market town, lying on or near the sea-coast and beyond the limits of the Roman empire, in the commerce of which entrepot a Roman subject like Ptolemy might be at least academically interested, *EFKH*, p. 47). Hence, there might have been some reason if a painstaking geo-

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grapher like Ptolemy, whose information on India cannot be dated after *c.* A.D. 150 (*KD*, p. 129), did not locate an "*emporeon*" in the lower Indus area. The reason was probably the cessation of or at least serious decline in trade between that region and the Roman empire by about the middle of the 2nd century A. D.

This hypothesis also explains why Ptolemy was out-of-date in his information about Indo-Scythia, which included the lower Indus area (*ASSIPH*, pp. 38, 45-46 and 56). Sailors from the Roman empire, who were among his chief informers about India, did not at all or frequently visit the lower Indus Zone in about the second quarter of the 2nd century A. D., when Ptolemy collected data for his geographical work (*KD*, p. 129). So Ptolemy had to depend on out-of-date sources for his information about that region.

10. P. 57
n. 27. Add the following after "p. 336." in line no. 28 :

For a full discussion on the problem of fixing the northern limits of the Kushāṇa empire see *RFKE*, pp. 135f. See also *TSAKE*, vol. II, pp. 42f ; D. C. Sircar, *Some Problems Concerning the Kushāṇas*, pp. 21f ; etc.

11. P. 58
n. 41. Add the following after "p. 336" in line no. 9 :

Ali Sami states that "an inscription from the time of Valash IV (A. D. 191-207) in the Syrian language refers to an important army which was sent to the east." Ali Sami claims that Valash IV was ultimately successful in his fight against the Kushāṇas, and was "able to drive" them away (from an area in or near the Parthian empire ?) (*TSAKE*, vol. II, p. 147). There is, however, no definite evidence of the fight between Valash or the Parthian emperor Vologases IV and the Kushāṇas.

12. P. 64
n. 2. Add the following after "pp. 139-40." in line no. 29 :

For J. Harmatta's philological arguments for identifying the name of Po-t'iao with that of Bazodeo (Vāsudeva), see *TSAKE*, vol. I, p. 312. The only difficulty is that the possible Chinese pronunciation of the name *Po-t'iao* does not indicate the letter *z* of the name *Bazodeo*. "But then the

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Chinese phonetic system generally has no final z. There were many examples in the interval between the Han and T'ang periods of the syllable-closing ʒ being omitted" (*ibid.*).

13. P. 68

n. 29. Add the following after "p. 336" in line no. 18 :

R. N. Frye believes Kushānshahr up to Peshawar, as described by Shāpūr I's Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription, enjoyed the status of a vassal state, (*TSAKE*, vol. II, p. 151). But the name of Kushānshahr appears in this record as one of the integral parts of the Sasanid empire. This record gives the limits of Kushānshahr as annexed to the Sasanid empire, and thereby indicates that the territory of the erstwhile Kushāṇa empire lying outside those limits at the time of the submission of the Kushāṇas to the Sasanids was not incorporated in Shāpūr's empire.

There is also no foundation of the theory that Shāpūr I himself conquered Kushānshahr as defined in his inscription, (*Begram*, p. 161 ; *TSAKE*, p. 148, 1). This record does not speak of his conquest of Kushānshahr. It's name occurs only in the list of the provinces of his empire. It was, however, possible that he put an end to the status of vassalage enjoyed by some ruling family of Kushānshahr (see above pp. 62-63) and made Kushānshahr, as defined in his record, an integral part of his empire (see above p. 63).

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIU	Majumdar, R.C., (Editor), *The Age of the Imperial Unity*, Bombay, 1950.
ASIAR	*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports*, Calcutta and Delhi.
ASSIPH	Mukherjee, B. N., *An Agrippan Source—A Study in Indo-Parthian History*, Calcutta, 1970.
BEGRAM	Ghirshman, R., *Begram, Recherches archaeologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans, Memoires de la Delegation Archeologiques Francaise en Afghanistan*, Vol. XII, Cairo, 1946.
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London.
CCADWK	Rapson, E. J., *A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Ksatrapas The Traikūṭaka Dynasty, and The "Bodhi" Dynasty*, London, 1908.
CCIM	Smith, V.A., *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. I, Oxford, 1906.
CHS	Pan Kū, *Ch'ien Han-shu* (T'ung-Wen Shu-Chü edition).
Com. His. Ind.	Sastri, K. A. (Editor), *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II—*The Mauryas and the Sātavāhanas, 325 B.C.—300 A.D.*, Calcutta, 1957.
DGIHB	Göble, R., *Documente zur Geschichte der Iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien*, 4 Vols., Wiesbaden, 1967.
EFKH	Mukherjee, B. N., *The Economic Factors in Kushāṇa History*, Calcutta, 1970.
EI	*Epigraphia Indica*, Calcutta and Delhi.
EK	Sharma, G.R., *Excavations at Kauśāmbī*, 1949-50, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 74, Delhi, 1969.
Epitome	Justinus, *Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum* (edited by Regnier, A., Paris, 1849).
HHS	Fan Yeh, *Hou Han-shu* (Ssu-pu Pie-yao edition).
IA	*Indian Antiquary*, Bombay.

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IAAR	*Indian Archaeology, A Review*, New Delhi.
IHQ	*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta.
JA	*Journal Asiatique*, Paris.
JAOS	*Journal of the American, Oriental Society*, New Haven (Counecticut).
JAS	*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta.
JNSI	*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Calcutta, Bombay and Varanasi
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Ireland and Great Britain*, London.
KD	Mukherjee, B.N., *The Kushāṇas and the Deccan*, Calcutta, 1969.
KG	Mukherjee, B.N , *The Kushāṇa Genealogy*, Calcutta, 1967.
MKVKB	Göbl, R , "Die Münzprägung der Kushān, Von Vima Kadphises bis Bahrām IV," Althiem, F. and Stichl, R., *Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike*, Frankfurt, 1957.
NC	*The Numismatic Chronicle* (*and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society*), London.
PDK	Basham, A. L.. (editor), *Papers on the Date of Kaniṣka*, Leiden, 1968.
Periplus	*Periplus Tes Erythras Thalasses*.
PHAI	Raychoudhuri, H.C., *Political History of Ancient India* (5th edition), Calcutta, 1950.
PMC	Whitehead, R. B., *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, Vol I, *Indo-Greek Coins*, Oxford, 1914.
RFKE	Mukherjee, B.N , *Rise and Fall of the Kushāṇa Empire*(In (press).
SC	Ssu-ma Ch'ien (and also Ssu-ma T'an), *Shih-Chi* (Ssu-pu pie-yao edition).
Taisho Tripitaka	Takakusu, J. and Watanbes, K. (editors), *Taisho Issai-kyo*, Tokyo, 1924 29.
Taxila	Marshall, J., *Taxila, An Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations Carried out under the order of the Government of India Between the years 1913 and 1934*. 3 Vols., Cambridge, 1951.
TP	*T'oung Pao*, Leiden.
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morganländischen Gesselschaft*, Leipzig and Wiesbaden.

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Hsüan-tsang — *Hsi-yu-chi* (*Taisho Tripiṭaka*, vol. LI, no. 2087).

Kumārajīva — *Ma-ming-pu-sa-chuan* (*The Bibliography of Bodhisattva Aśvaghosha*) (*Nanjio*, no. 1460; *Taisho Tripiṭaka* no. 2046; M. V. Vassilief, *Le Bouddhisme, ses dogmes son Historie et sa Littérature* (translated by G. A. La Comme) Paris, 1865, pp. 209-211).

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7.	Two Nandsa Inscriptions of the Kṛita year 282	*EI*, vol. XXVII, pp. 263-65.
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4	29	on pieces	on pieces bearing
5	4	indicated	indicate
6	2	Luders	Lüders
6	2	(as adduced by others)	(as aduced by others)
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25	6	the sacturaries	sanctuaries
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28	11	Mahasenāpati	Mahāsenāpati
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50	1	Kushāṇa[6] throne	Kushāṇa throne.[6]
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82	6	*CCADHWK*	*CCADWK*
82	38	F, E. Pargitar	F. E. Pargitar
83	21	City, of Mathura have,	city of Mathura, have
85	29	from	of

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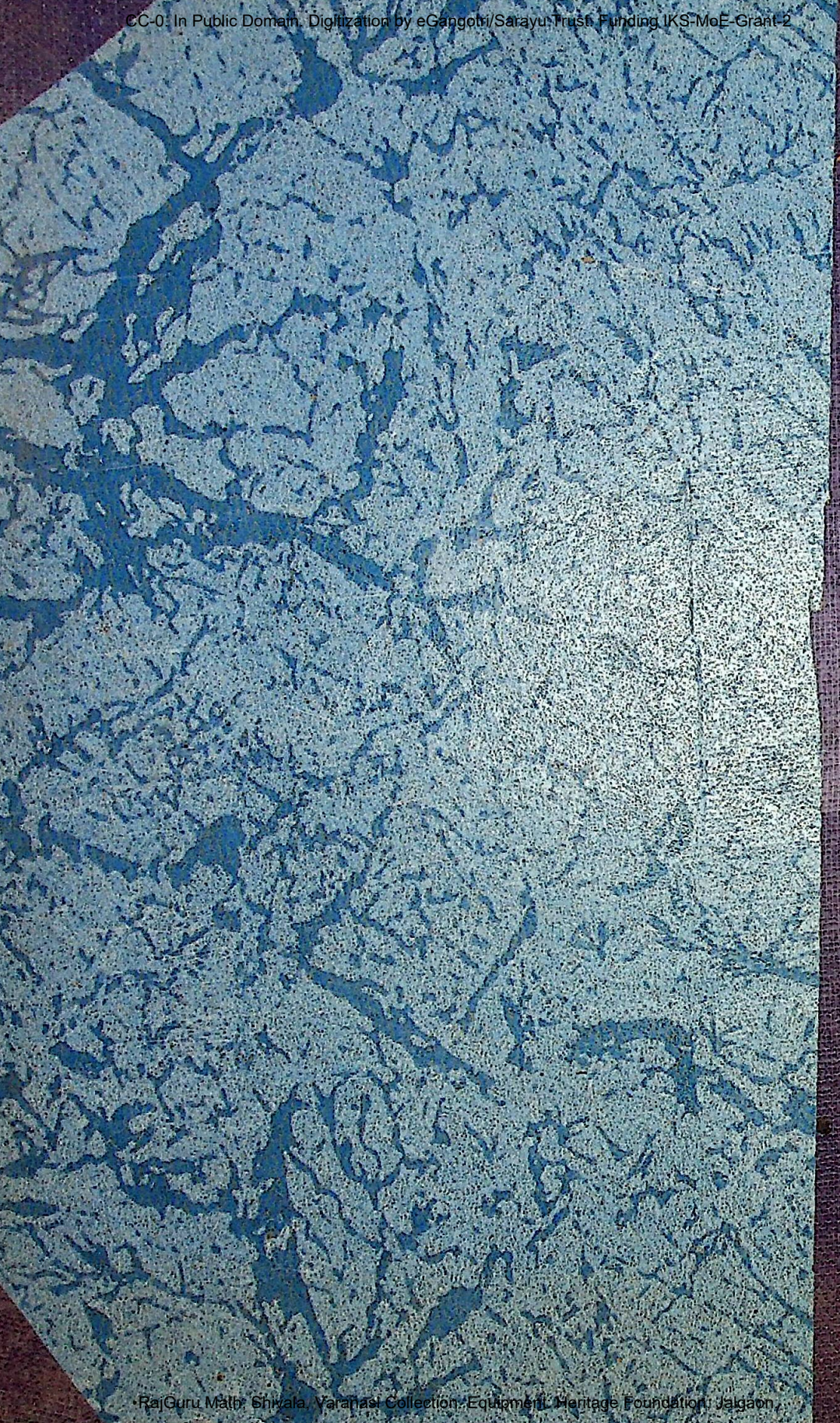

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